

140 + 28 = 168

~~Book~~

296 559

Simmel \$2.50

Anti-Semitism

MAY 26 1947

296 559

Keep Your Card in This Pocket

Books will be issued only on presentation of proper library cards.

Unless labeled otherwise, books may be retained for two weeks. Borrowers finding books marked, defaced or mutilated are expected to report same at library desk; otherwise the last borrower will be held responsible for all imperfections discovered.

The card holder is responsible for all books drawn on this card.

Penalty for over-due books 2c a day plus cost of notices.

Lost cards and change of residence must be reported promptly.



Public Library

Kansas City, Mo.

Keep Your Card in This Pocket

BERNARDINI ENVELOPE CO., N. C., MO.

KANSAS CITY MO PUBLIC LIBRARY



0 0001 0313434 2

DEC 2 '47 28

R

JAN 6 '48 73

SEP 3 '48 63

LOT 430 Y612

ANTI-SEMITISM

A Social Disease

ANTI-SEMITISM

A Social Disease

Edited by

Ernst Simmel, M.D.

With a Preface by

Gordon W. Allport

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES PRESS
New York New York

COPYRIGHT, 1916
BY
ERNST SIMMEL, M D

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

“.....the mere conquest of our enemies is not enough.

“We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed which made this horror possible.

“Today, we are faced with the preeminent fact that *if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships* — the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together in the same world, at peace.”

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
From the prepared text of his
Jefferson Day Speech, 1945.

P R E F A C E

Among the merits of this volume is the way it focuses the reader's mind upon a psychological problem of highest importance. It asks, to what extent is prejudice (the evil of evils in human nature) due to dark unconscious forces of which the individual is unaware and for which he is not responsible? One strong argument in favor of unconscious forces I find in Dr. Simmel's observation that no sufferer from prejudice ever *thinks* he is disordered or ever comes to a therapist for the purpose of relieving himself of his unjust hatreds. The same point of view is summarized by Dr. Horkheimer in his assertion that to remedy prejudice a mere appeal to the conscious mind does not suffice, because anti-Semitism and susceptibility to its mischievous propaganda spring from the recesses of the unconscious. In a variety of ways all the other authors contributing to this rich symposium elaborate the argument and make it convincing.

Yet to me the volume suggests also the contrary line of thought. Most of the authors, as I read them, are not defeatists. They believe that the beast in the unconscious can be routed from his lair. Although they naturally prefer the psychoanalytic method of exorcism, they know that only a negligible fraction of anti-Semites will ever be analyzed. Hence they base their meliorism upon education, the publication of research, legislation, and other socially accessible methods. In short, even psychoanalysts do not altogether disdain "appeal to the conscious mind".

I ask myself: "May it not be that *most* people (not, of course, the paranoid type of bigot) have a sufficiently strong ego-structure to resist the depredations of anti-Semitism if, as decent and democratic citizens, they are warned of its perils and its insidious modes of operation?" As a critic of

psychoanalysis I have often thought (and sometimes written) that psychoanalytic theory tends to ascribe to *all* mortals the same type of subservience to unconscious hostilities and fixations that unquestionably mark the mental life of neurotics and psychotics. I know that the reply to my criticism is that *degrees* of unconscious fixation exist in all people. But even if this is so, it seems to me that conscious sentiments of decency, compassion, and fidelity to a religious faith are often sufficiently dynamic to control the prejudice. It is for this reason that I feel the despair reflected in some of these pages to be less warranted than the meliorism and determination reflected in others.

I find it broadminded of the editor to invite a "non-analytic" psychologist like myself to write these prefatory remarks. It is a welcome sign that a common front among all mental and social scientists is being forged to fight anti-democratic evils in our generation. The inhuman orgies of the past two decades have shocked us into co-operation. No petty doctrinal differences must be allowed to divide the efforts of scientists in their common determination to preserve their scientific freedom by re-establishing personal liberty and self-respect for all men. Anti-Semitism is so contagious and complex an evil that we welcome all possible aid in combating it. My own emphasis, like that of the contributors to this volume, is upon the final importance of individual character structure. And with them I agree that a more benignly structured ego cannot be achieved without the assistance of economic, political, and educational reforms.

I am particularly pleased to find in this volume much new and solid research on the subject of prejudice. The admirable study by Frenkel-Brunswik and Sanford sheds much light upon the differentia in personality that distinguish a certain common type of college bigot from the prejudice-free student. Dr. Adorno's research gives us in-

cisive insights into the macabre doings of West Coast anti-Semitic propagandists. Most of the other articles are either clinical or speculative in type, but are no less provocative. Occasionally, I am bound to say, I find certain psychoanalytic interpretations far-fetched and exuberantly imaginative, but my scepticism may be due to my restricted layman's view of the matter. However, for the most part the contents of the volume are not only convincing but often brilliantly arresting. There is neither preachment nor exhortation. The symposium is a piecing together of the experience of experts with the irrational and self-centered hostility that so tragically disrupts man's relations within his human family. It helps us to define our predicament and to plan our way out of it into a fairer future.

GORDON W. ALLPORT

Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
DEDICATION	v
PREFACE <i>by Gordon W. Allport</i>	vii
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	xiii
INTRODUCTION <i>by Ernst Simmel</i>	xvii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xxv
IN MEMORIAM	xxvii
Chapter One: SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH <i>by Max Horkheimer</i>	1
Chapter Two: ELEMENTS OF A PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM <i>by Otto Fenichel</i>	11
Chapter Three: ANTI-SEMITISM AND MASS PSYCHO- PATHOLOGY <i>by Ernst Simmel</i>	33
Chapter Four: ON SOME RELIGIOUS MOTIVFS OF ANTI- SEMITISM <i>by Bernhard Berliner</i>	79
Chapter Five: ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE <i>by Douglass W. Orr</i>	85
Chapter Six: THE ANTI-SEMITIC PERSONALITY: A RE- SEARCH REPORT <i>by Else Frenkel-Brunswik and R. Nevitt Sanford</i>	96
Chapter Seven: ANTI-SEMITISM AND FASCIST PROPAGANDA <i>by T. W. Adorno</i>	125

ABOUT THE AUTHORS:

ADORNO, T. W.

Ph D., University of Frankfurt on Main, 1924
1931-33, Associate Professor, University of Frankfurt on Main
1934-37, Research Work at Merton College, Oxford (England)
1938-41, Director of Research on Music, Princeton Radio Research Project
At present, Co-director of Research Project on Social Discrimination, Berkeley University, and Study on Prejudice in Children, Institute of Child Welfare, Berkeley University
Member, Institute of Social Research, Columbia University, New York
Formerly, Member, Institut fuer Sozialforschung, Frankfurt on Main
Author of *Movies and Music* (with Hanns Eisler), to be published by Oxford University Press
Studies on Kierkegaard, Richard Wagner, Spengler, Veblen, numerous major studies in the fields of sociology and psychology of music, published in *Zeitschrift fuer Sozialforschung*, *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*
The contribution to this volume is part of an extensive study on the Psychological Technique of Fascist Propaganda, as yet unpublished

* * * *

ALLPORT, Gordon Willard:

Ph D., Harvard University, 1922
Post-doctoral studies in Berlin, Hamburg, Cambridge (England)
Past President of the American Psychological Association, Eastern Psychological Association, and Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues
At present, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University
Author of: *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation*, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1938
Several studies on the nature of bigotry and the roots of prejudice

* * * *

BERLINER, Bernhard:

Ph D., University of Leipzig, 1907
M.D., University of Freiburg, 1909
1910-14, Assistant at the Clinic for Nervous Diseases of Prof. H. Oppenheim, Berlin
1912-1936, private practice of neuro-psychiatry in Berlin
1937-date, Adjunct in Psychiatry, Mount Zion Hospital, San Francisco, Calif.
1942-date, Instructor in Psychoanalysis, San Francisco Branch of the Topeka Institute for Psychoanalysis
Author of Numerous studies in psychology and neurology published in German periodicals, 1907-29
Numerous studies in psychoanalysis, published in the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, *Psychoanalytic Review*, *Intern. Jour. of Ps.*, *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 1938-45

* * * *

FENICHEL, Otto:

M.D., University of Vienna, 1921
 1922, Member, Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute
 1922-24, Psychiatrist, Psychiatric Hospital, University of Berlin
 1923-33, Member of the Faculty, Psychoanalytic Institute, Berlin
 1933-36, Training analyst and lecturer, Oslo
 1936-38, President, Prague Branch of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute
 1943-46, President, Psychoanalytic Study Group of Los Angeles, Calif
 1932-38, Co-editor, *Imago*
 1938-46, Co-editor, *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*
 Author of *Outline of Clinical Psychoanalysis*, New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1934
Problems of Psychoanalytic Technique, Albany, N Y, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly Press, 1941
The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis, New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1945
 More than sixty papers on clinical, theoretical and applied psychoanalysis.

Died. January 22, 1946

* * * *

FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK, Else:

Ph D, University of Vienna, 1930
 1929-38, Teaching and Research Associate, University of Vienna
 1939-date, Research Associate, Institute of Child Welfare, University of California
 1944-date, Lecturer in Psychology, University of California
 1945-date, Senior Staff Member, Public Opinion Study, Berkeley, Calif
 1946-date, Executive Director, University of California Study of Social Discrimination in Children
 Author of *Wunsch und Pflicht im Aufbau des menschlichen Lebens* (Wish and Duty in the Structure of Man's Life), with Edith Weisskopf, vol 1 of *Psychologische Forschungen ueber den Lebenslauf*, ed. by Charlotte Buchler (*Psychol. Investigations into the Course of Life*), Vienna, 1937
 Numerous contributions on psychology in German periodicals and reference works, 1931-1937
 Numerous contributions on psychology in *Psychol Bull*, *Journ of Social Psychol*, *Journ of Abnorm and Social Psychol*, *Gen Psychol. Monographs*, 1939-45

* * * *

HORKHEIMER, Max:

Ph.D., University of Frankfort on Main, 1922
 1930-33, Professor of Social Philosophy, University of Frankfort on Main
 1931-33, Director, Institut fuer Sozialforschung, Frankfort on Main
 1935-date, Research Director, Institute of Social Research, Columbia University
 1944-date, Chief Research Consultant, American Jewish Committee, New York

1932-39, Editor, Zeitschrift fuer Sozialforschung, Leipzig and Paris
 1940-date, Editor, Studies in Philosophy and Social Science
 Author of: Kants Kritik der Urteilskraft (Treatise on Kant's Critique
 of Judgment), 1925
 Anlaenge der buergerlichen Geschichtsphilosophie (Begin-
 nings of Bougeois Philosophy of History), 1930
 Autoritaet und Familie (Authority and Family), 1936
 The Social Function of Philosophy, 1941, Art and Mass
 Culture, 1941, The End of Reason, 1942
 Numerous Contributions to: *Studies in Philosophy and
 Social Science*

* * * *

ORR, Douglass W.:

M D, Northwestern University, 1935
 1937-41, Member of the staff of the Menninger Clinic, Topcka, Kansas,
 and Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago, Ill
 1941-date, Psychiatric Consultant, Family Society of Seattle
 1941-date, Psychiatric Consultant, Ryther Child Center, Seattle
 1941-date, Lecturer, Graduate School of Social Work, University of
 Washington, Seattle, Wash
 Author of: *Health Insurance with Medical Care: The British Experi-
 ence* (with Jean Walker Orr) New York, Macmillan Co.,
 1938
 "Do You Have an N-P Diagnosis?" (Mimeographed and
 circulated by the American Red Cross for the use of
 their staff in Army and Navy Hospitals)
 Contributions to *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Psycho-
 somatic Medicine, Journ of Crim Psychopath*

* * * *

SANFORD, R. Nevitt:

Ph D, Harvard University, 1934
 1932-35, Norfolk Prison Colony, Norfolk, Mass
 1935-37, Lecturer in Psychology, Mass Institute of Technology
 1935-40, Research Associate, Harvard University; Director, Harvard
 Growth Study of School Children
 1940-44, Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of California
 1941-date, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of California
 1940-date, Research Associate, Institute of Child Welfare, University
 of California
 1944-date, Co-director, University of California Public Opinion Study
 Author of: *The Thematic Apperception Test, A Manual of Directions
 for Scoring the Interpretation* (with R. W. White).
 Harvard Psychol Clinic, 1941
Physique, Personality and Scholarship (with M Adkins, B
 Miller and E Cobb), Monog Soc Res Ch Develop., 8,
 1943
 Numerous contributions to *Psych Exch, Psych Bull.,
 Journ of Abnorm and Social Psych, Journ Crimin.
 Psychopath, Journ Psychol, Journ. Consult. Psychol,
 Educ Forum, Psychol Rev, Proc Biennial Meeting Soc.
 Res. Ch Devel*, and various handbooks and reference
 works, 1935-1946

* * * *

SIMMEL, Ernst:

M.D., University of Rostock, 1909

1920, Co-founder, Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute

1926-30, President, German Psychoanalytic Society

1927-31, Medical Director, Psychoanalytic Clinic and Sanitarium, Schloss Tegel (the first sanitarium devoted to applying psychoanalytic principles to the treatment of severe neuroses, perversions, addictions, psychoses, and psychosomatic disorders)

1934, came to Los Angeles, on invitation to start a medical center for training physicians in psychoanalysis

1935-42, President, Psychoanalytic Study Group of Los Angeles

1942-44, President, San Francisco Psychoanalytic Society

1946-date, President, Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Society

Author of: *Kriegs-Neurosen und Psychisches Trauma* (War Neuroses and Psychological Trauma), Munich, Otto Nemnich Verlag, 1918

Contributions to war psychiatry, theory and treatment of addictions, the dualistic instinct theory, application of psychoanalysis to the treatment of psychoses, genesis and hypnoanalytic treatment of organic disease, in various German periodicals, 1910-33, and in *Internat Journ of Psa*, *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 1935-46

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to all the collaborators in this undertaking. In preparing the manuscript for publication, I had invaluable cooperation and assistance from Mrs. Ruth Lachenbruch. Her critical suggestions, her appreciation and understanding of the concerted aim of the contributors were a constant stimulus to me.

My special thanks go to Dr. T. W. Adorno, who gave me the benefit of his experience in arranging the material of this volume.

ERNST SIMMEL

IN MEMORIAM

While this manuscript was on its way to the publisher, word came of the sudden death of Dr. Otto Fenichel. This brilliant theoretician, great teacher of psychoanalysis and outstanding therapist will be deeply missed by his fellow-workers, his students and his patients. Psychoanalysis, as a practical psychology for the betterment of human interrelationships, has lost in him a warm protagonist.

Chapter One

SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH

As early as 1930 when I still was in Frankfort, I became aware of the gravity of the problem of anti-Semitism, which even then was a real menace in Germany and in the rest of the world. At that time, I tried to convince outstanding leaders of community life in Germany, in France, and in other countries of its seriousness. Repeatedly the answer was made that anti-Semitism was a propaganda device and that once Hitler was in power, he would certainly discontinue this nonsense. In France, the reply was elaborated: that country was an old democracy, accustomed to democratic ways of life, and it would therefore be impossible to build up any kind of an anti-Semitic regime in France. The same statement, based on different reasons, was made in Austria. At the present time those who observe American public life closely do not assert that the menace of anti-Semitism is non-existent here. They are aware of the actual danger, for anti-Semitism is a spearhead of fascism which still confronts what is left of Western civilization.

Even now that Allied troops have victoriously crushed Fascism the scientist must continue to study anti-Semitism, lest ultimate victory slump into horrible defeat. It is certainly not too much to assert that Allied troops have fought for the self-same civilization which is most vitally threatened by anti-Semitism.

Despite the importance of the problem of anti-Semitism as a social phenomenon, not much has as yet been achieved toward its solution by sociology or philosophy. Interestingly enough, there is no study in the field of sociology

or of social philosophy comparable to the lucid discussion in Freud's *Moses* or to the psychoanalytic papers on anti-Semitism such as that of Fenichel. Psychoanalytic studies on this subject are the only ones from which we can start.

My contribution does not intend to provide any neat, full-fledged theory. On the contrary, it offers a number of questions, a few suggestions, and a few hypotheses which, naturally, are not yet proven by empirical social studies. For a year, supported by grants from various agencies, the Institute of Social Research at Columbia University has been engaged in the study of anti-Semitism. The longer the problem is studied, the more conflicting and the more profound do its implications appear. It must be immediately acknowledged that an arbitrary division of social sciences into sociology, economics, psychology, social psychology, philosophy, and so forth, cannot be maintained. Every concept used in our study of anti-Semitism has social, psychological, philosophic implications.

The complexity of the situation became apparent during a recent conference called by the most outstanding Jewish defense agency in this country. It was attended by experts from all over America. Many questions were presented: In setting up a defense program against anti-Semitism, what type of propaganda should be used? What should be said? How should pamphlets be written? Should there simply be an appeal for fair play, to a sense of justice in the individual, to the ideals of democracy? The psychoanalytic answer would be in the negative. A mere appeal to the conscious mind does not suffice, because anti-Semitism and the susceptibility to anti-Semitic propaganda spring from the unconscious. Hence, an appeal should be made not so much to a sense of fairness than, rather, as a warning against uniting with other people merely because they are the stronger ones. All this is more than a problem of propaganda. Suppose, for example that a police

officer or the police organization in some large city has failed to punish a policeman for helping anti-Semitic bandits. Should there be a demand for his dismissal? Should there be committees of investigation probing attacks on synagogues? Such questions can be answered only if the effect of anti-Semitism upon the conscious and the unconscious mind is known.

Furthermore: how should measures against anti-Semitism be tested? How can it be determined whether mere propaganda is sufficient or not? Is there any way of finding out whether broad layers of the American population, allegedly free of discriminatory bias will take up anti-Semitism under conditions of crisis? Is it possible to design methods of scientific research leading to successful action? At present the only country where there does not seem to be any kind of anti-Semitism is Russia. This has a very obvious reason. Not only has Russia passed laws against anti-Semitism, but it really enforces them; and the penalties are very severe. Should an attempt be made to enact such laws in this country? Should groups trying to counteract anti-Semitism promulgate such measures or not? If it is true that the prospective anti-Semite wants to identify himself with a more powerful entity, then such laws are to be recommended, because they make the Jew stronger than if he were not protected. Still, there are many who feel that the effect may be just the opposite, that such laws may produce the psychological situation of the "Schutzjude".* All these are practical questions, which the sociologist and the economist and the psychiatrist would like to be able to answer. They are, however, to a certain extent, powerless to do so: they must first have some basic information from the psychoanalyst.

Let us first, as good scientists, try to say something

* "The Protected Jew "

about the logical problem of anti-Semitism, its definition. What actually is anti-Semitism? The workers in the Institute of Social Research did not start from a fixed, pre-conceived idea but first tried to cover the whole range of the concept by drafting various *typologies* of anti-Semitism. Here are some examples of anti-Semitic "types".

There is the so-called born anti-Semite. Jewish traits, even Jewish names are repugnant to him. He simply cannot stand the Jews. Through a process of unconscious empathy, the sight of a Jew gives him a sense of being mutilated. And he reacts to this with nausea. Yet, it can often be observed that Jewesses are accepted by him, if he does not know they are Jewish. The Institute Group does not believe in natural or born anti-Semitism. The probable explanation is that over-compensation of suppressed anxieties and desires is operative.

A second type to be mentioned is that of religious and philosophical anti-Semitism. It has largely disappeared in Europe, although there are still a good many such anti-Semites in this country. The underlying pattern is indicated by such statements as: The Jews crucified Christ. They have remained unredeemed for thousands of years. The Jew is a stranger who keeps aloof from Christianity.

Then, there is the backwoods or "Sectarian" anti-Semite, the paranoid in the more specific sense of the term. His world is haunted by the fear of dark mysteries and conspiracies. He is convinced of the existence of Jewish world-domination.

Another distinguishable type is the vanquished competitor. His hatred stems from certain economic relationships under which he suffers; he feels that his difficulties will disappear if the Jew is eliminated from economic life.

There is also the Jew-baiter. He is a product of repressed fury. He hates the revolutionary Jew who wants to improve social conditions.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the centuries anti-Semitism has remained essentially the same, although its manifestations have changed with the enlightenment, the ethical standards and the social structure of every epoch. The strange and alarming phenomenon of today is that anti-Semitism has evinced its most barbaric manifestation at a time when civilization has attained its highest development.

It would be a fatal error, as well as a form of psychological isolationism, to assume that only in Germany could anti-Semitism have descended to such depths. For all observers agree that anti-Semitism has been on the increase in every country as one of the by-products of this global war. It is true that in the United States it has so far emerged only as social anti-Semitism by setting social restrictions on Jews, (banning them from apartment houses and summer resorts, excluding them from some clubs, limiting their numbers in certain universities and professional schools). This form of anti-Semitism has arisen mainly as a reaction to the mass immigration of Jews who, at the end of the nineteenth century, fled from the Czarist pogroms in Russia and Poland.

During World War II, however, a change in the quality of anti-Semitism began to appear. It has taken on the color of German anti-Semitism. It embraces an ever widening circle of the American population, and the more it expands, the more irrational becomes the defamation of the Jews. We hear a variety of accusations against them: the Jews started the war; the Jews are to blame for the restrictions which the emergency situation has necessitated, such as rationing; they are responsible for the corruption arising from these restrictions, such as blackmarkets, and so forth. Furthermore, anti-Semitism tends to make a distinction between the American citizen and the American Jew

by asserting that the Jew has evaded military service in order to stay at home and profiteer. And now, anti-Semitic slogans are being circulated among the American people, urging returning soldiers "to rid the country of the perfidious Jew".

It is possible that this new form of American anti-Semitism stems, in part, from sources of organized Nazi propaganda in this country. But the question then arises: why has such propaganda become effective in America, and why does it continue to spread now that the war is over?

The endeavor to find an answer to this question is of far reaching importance, not only because anti-Semitism is a danger to the Jews. It is also a danger to this country. More than that it is a danger to all civilization.

Germany's defamation of her Jewish citizenry as an imaginary "enemy absolute" was the initial measure that culminated in global war and brought on a world-wide holocaust of hate and destruction. Today Germany lies materially and morally in ruins. America, however, has emerged from the war the most powerful nation in the world and, as such, will set the standards for future political and ethical values between nations and within nations.

True to its democratic tradition, the United States Government has always denounced anti-Semitism. In 1905, Congress adopted a resolution condemning the Russian pogroms and expressing concern for and sympathy with the Jewish victims. In 1911, Congress abrogated its commercial agreements with Russia for the same reason. Long before World War II started, Franklin D. Roosevelt repeatedly expressed the abhorrence of the American people of the anti-Semitic atrocities committed by the Nazi government. President Truman has adhered to this tradition by issuing specific directives concerned with Jewish victims of Nazi persecution.

What would happen to the United States and to civili-

zation, should anti-Semitism become a leading ideology here? Anti-Semitism is irrational and since it dethrones reason as the regulating power in human interrelationships, it is bound to have a disintegrating effect on community life.

Deliberations of this kind impelled the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Society—the California Constituent Society of the American Psychoanalytic Association—to invite a group of scientists to participate in a symposium on anti-Semitism. We considered it our duty to the immediate community—as well as to the larger community of the world—to submit the problem of anti-Semitism to the scrutiny of unbiased science. We challenge the old idea that anti-Semitism is a problem concerning Jews only—and of the need to protect Jewish minorities. Experience has proved that an appeal to reason in defending the Jews is of no avail. The anti-Semitic attitude obeys an irrational trend which, throughout history, has cost many millions of Jewish lives.

We proceeded on the assumption that anti-Semitism must be the manifestation of a pathological mental process and that this process, under present economic and political conditions, leads to a decomposition of society and to the destruction of the anti-Semites themselves.

Since it is obvious that the anti-Semitic concept of the Jew is clouded by a complex of persecution, anti-Semitism requires investigation by the psychiatrist. General descriptive psychiatry, however, cannot clarify the problem. For this, the dynamic psychology of psychoanalysis must be employed. Freud, through the psychoanalytic method, discovered the natural laws governing the *irrational* trends in men, and showed us that much which we previously considered realistic unhappiness is actually self-induced neurotic misery. Through psychoanalysis Freud made amenable to objective psychological research the realm of

the unconscious in men, i.e., the source of our instincts from which the human passions of love and hate emanate.

The anti-Semite hates the Jew because of his belief that the Jew is responsible for his unhappiness. He persecutes the Jew because he feels persecuted by him. It is only through psychoanalysis that we can hope to shed some light on this obscure entanglement of irrational hatred and neurotic misery. However, anti-Semitism cannot be understood merely through an understanding of the anti-Semitic individual. It is his problem, to be sure, but beyond this, it is a social problem involving political groups, classes and nations.

Because of these sociological implications, we felt the need for the collaboration of sociologists and research psychologists who accepted the basic psychoanalytic concepts.

We were fortunate in securing the help of the sociologists, Dr. Max Horkheimer and Dr. Theodor Adorno, both of the Institute of Social Research at Columbia University, and of the psychologists, Dr. R. Nevitt Sanford and Dr. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, of the Psychology Department of the University of California at Berkeley. These four scientists had for some time been engaged in investigating the roots of anti-Semitism and had made certain findings before we had planned a *Psychiatric Symposium on Anti-Semitism*. The symposium was held in San Francisco in June 1944; each of the participants discussed anti-Semitism from a specific point of view. The resultant conclusions are now presented in this book.

Dr. Horkheimer introduces the subject with a discussion of the various aspects of anti-Semitism, gives a brief account of its history and provides a sociological background for the psychoanalytic approach.

Dr. Fenichel's study, proceeding from the premise that sociological factors are of basic importance in the problem of anti-Semitism, views the phenomenon not so much as a conflict *between* individuals than as that of a conflict

within the individual. He examines the unconscious of the anti-Semite for the purpose of ascertaining which individual instinctual drives and ego defenses create anti-Semitism as a psychopathological phenomenon.

My treatment of the subject goes back to the relationship of anti-Semitism to society. It investigates the total civilizing process as a form of collective character development in relation to individual character formation, and anti-Semitism as a phenomenon arising out of an unconscious conflict between the individual and his civilization.

Dr. Berliner's contribution augments the material on the social aspect of anti-Semitism by dealing with religion as a social phenomenon, throwing some light on latent principles in the Christian and Jewish religions as contributive factors to anti-Semitism.

Dr. Orr, applying Freud's concept of the "psychopathology of everyday life", extends Freud's findings on the psychology of *mistakes in expression to errors in comprehending and judging* our fellow men.

From these microscopic psychoanalytic considerations, the investigation then turns to the relationship of the individual anti-Semite to society. Through psychological research on an extensive scale, Drs. Frenkel-Brunswik and Sanford determined the type of the anti-Semitic personality and demonstrated that, at the present time, the sociological basis for the development of such a personality structure is rooted in the socio-economic insecurity of the individual. The material in these chapters illuminates the factors which determine the amenability of the personality to anti-Semitism.

The final chapter, written by Dr. Adorno, reveals the mental mechanisms which produce present day anti-Semitic propaganda and gives examples of how these mechanisms, through skillful application, are made to meet the individual's irrational and emotional needs, thereby taking advantage of men's susceptibility to propaganda. Dr. Ador-

no's presentation takes the reader right back to the imminent danger of anti-Semitism.

This book does not profess to deal exhaustively with the problem of anti-Semitism. For one thing, the counterpart to the anti-Semitic personality — the Jewish personality — is only casually touched upon in the various chapters. The question whether there are unconscious trends in the Jewish personality corresponding to the unconscious trends in the anti-Semitic personality deserves much more consideration than it has been given in this book. A more concerted, integrated effort on the part of sociologists, research psychologists and psychoanalysts is necessary before any conclusive clarification of anti-Semitism as a social disease can be attained.

Much can be expected along these lines from the broad project being carried on by the Institute of Social Research under the direction of Dr. Max Horkheimer.

The present volume is published primarily with the intention of stimulating the interest of all scientists working for the betterment of human interrelationships. We are, therefore, very gratified to have the support of Dr. Gordon W. Allport, the eminent head of the Psychology Department at Harvard University. We deeply appreciate his willingness to read the manuscript and to introduce the book to the general scientific reader.

Our endeavor has been concerned fundamentally with a theoretical clarification of the phenomenon. However, because of the actual danger of anti-Semitism, each of the contributors has undertaken to draw some practical conclusions from his specific theoretical premises. We hope that this book will come to the attention of our statesmen. The statesman of today no longer uses only the tools of diplomacy; he is expected to apply the results of scientific research wherever they touch upon problems of human relationships.

Right now statesmen are concentrating upon finding a way to transform the released *destructive energy of the atom* into a constructive agent that will serve the ends of world peace. It is important that these leaders know that the most powerful energy threatening civilization with destruction lies *within* man himself. This energy is the human instinct of destruction hidden within the unconscious and *emanating hatred* from there. Ultimate security against destruction by atomic energy can be attained only through the study, treatment and domestication of this human destructive instinct. Natural forces, including atomic energy, can be directed toward the common good only if the men who use them have first gained knowledge of and power over their own unconscious tendencies of hate and destruction.

Statesmanship today demands vision implemented by scientific knowledge. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was aware of the imperative need for scientific understanding of men's motives and goals. He recognized that a military victory over fascist forces does not eradicate fascist ideology. The scientist must take over to make the partial victory a total victory. In the message which reached the public after his death, Roosevelt called upon the "science of human relationships" to make it possible for people "to live together and work together in peace". Psychoanalysis is the science which is basically concerned with the clarification of human interrelationships. Through psychoanalysis Freud gave us an understanding not only of the intellectual motives which determine the interaction of human beings, but also of the unconscious emotional forces behind them. In presenting our psychoanalytic findings, we are answering the posthumous call of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

ERNST SIMMEL.

In contrast to the Jew-baiter, there is the up-to-date, streamlined fascist anti-Semite. He is led by political considerations, and is perhaps the most merciless of all. He derives no immediate gratification from the persecution of Jews, but embarks on a program of changing political situations by a systematically planned annihilation of the Jews.

It is essential to differentiate these principal types. Nevertheless, they are but different aspects of one basic phenomenon, anti-Semitism, which at the moment plainly reveals its fundamentally destructive nature. Neither the variations in the types mentioned, nor those to be found in other countries should be overestimated. Stress is constantly laid on the different character of anti-Semitism in Europe and in America. This certainly cannot be dismissed lightly: it is not mere accident that the great explosion of anti-Semitism first occurred in Germany. However that may be, modern civilized men have certain trends in common. It is very often mentioned that in this country Jews are excluded from some summer resorts and clubs — the kind of discrimination we are accustomed to call social anti-Semitism. Yet, Jews can become governors and can embark on many kinds of political careers. The difference between America and the Third Reich is obvious; but the fact that there is social discrimination here is disquieting. It goes much farther than in Europe and leads us to believe that the basic psychological difference is dangerously small. In Europe, particularly in Germany before Hitler, there were very few of these restrictions. Summer resorts as well as political careers were open to Jews. They ranked high in the Kaiser Reich, not only in business, but also in administrative posts and in society. Nevertheless, the catastrophe occurred. Success is no safeguard against complete reversal; and the social discrimination existing in this country is evidence of a strong undercurrent of contempt and hostility. The basic features of destructive hatred are

identical everywhere. Socio-political issues determine whether or not they become manifest.

Another aspect of anti-Semitism is the historical one. Here again, undue emphasis must not be put upon specific variations. It is a strange thing that the Jews have always been attacked — even before the rise of Christianity. The attacks have been so stereotyped, they have always followed the same pattern so closely that one is tempted to say that though the Jews, who have changed much in the course of history, are certainly no race, the anti-Semites in a way *are* a race, because they always use the same slogans, display the same attitudes, indeed almost look alike. This idea sounds like a joke, but is really not so much of a joke. Some preliminary psychological studies reveal that the character structures of anti-Semites are much more alike than the character structures of Jews. When the Greeks attacked the Jews in old Alexandria, they used the slogan that the Jews were strangers in order to infuriate the Egyptian mob. That was a lie: the Jews were no more strangers than the Egyptians. Alexandria was not Egyptian; when it was founded both Jews and Egyptians were imported and *both* were strangers. Nevertheless, the slogan caught on; the Jews were strangers. This situation can be compared to the illuminating example given by Freud, namely, that the Jews in Cologne were more “native” than the Germans because they actually arrived before the Germans.

During the Middle Ages, anti-Semitism took the form of religious persecutions. In this connection, a certain fact offers a specific question for psychologists. The question is to what extent the character strength of the Jews, their resistance to torture, even in the face of death, may have increased hatred against them.

The story of the Christian martyrs is well known. But for more than a thousand years there have always been

many martyrs among the Jews. Jewish history records over and over again instances not only of individuals who submitted passively to torture but also of genuine martyrs who preferred death to saying: "I believe in Jesus Christ". Among them were highly cultivated individuals, well-to-do people, and also underprivileged ones, even thieves. Special forms of torture were used for thieves — and even here a difference was made between Jew and Gentile. The martyrdom of the Jewish thieves lasted for days, and when they had suffered to the utmost, there were so-called Christians at hand, gazing at them and waiting for the words: "Yes, I will accept Christianity that I may die a quick death, or be released". It sometimes happened that those who accepted Christianity were freed amid great celebrations. A miracle had happened: a Jew had become a Christian. The infrequency of this occurrence offers indirect evidence of Jewish resistance to conversion. As I indicated before, this character strength of the Jews may have contributed to the intensification of the hatred against them.

In medieval times hatred of the Jews was not anti-Semitism, but anti-Judaism. Jews were discriminated against, not only because they were a race, but because they "killed Christ". Only since the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, has the national or racial aspect been emphasized: Jews were persecuted because they were Jews. And even if a Jew was converted to Christianity he was not completely accepted. Only his children or children's children were considered Christian by the Spanish Inquisition. In practice, the Church knows both anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, although anti-Semitism is a contradiction of Catholic doctrine.

The only time when destructive anti-Semitism remained more or less dormant was during the nineteenth century, the classical age of liberalism. During this short period,

destructive tendencies were not discharged against Jewish minorities, but against Colonial populations, which at that time were treated as cruelly as the Jews have been in recent years in Europe. But that liberal period has definitely come to an end in Europe, mainly for economic causes. Of these, the most important is, I believe, the disappearance of the intermediary sphere of circulation, the "middle man". In the world of monopoly, the same big organizations that produce goods tend to engage in direct distribution. Jewish fortunes in Europe stemmed from that relatively independent sphere of distribution not limited to commerce in the strict sense, but comprising or closely affiliated with other activities such as law, medicine, press, and entertainment. The mentality prevailing in these fields comes close to that of "circulation". Today, all these spheres have been virtually taken over by strong centralized agencies. United executive administration of industrial forces tends to dominate all of economic life: production, distribution, and also ideology. There is no doubt that the day of the independent entrepreneur of moderate scope, which was the golden age of the Jewish middle man, has come to a close. There are still a good many individual private fortunes, some of them in Jewish hands; but they do not have the same influence today that they had in the nineteenth century.

With the abolition of the sphere of distribution, another category tends to disappear, that of the individual. Here, sociology and psychology seem to move toward complete fusion. The individual as a spiritual being, a being with a fully developed superego built up not only during the first years of childhood, but continuing to develop until puberty, undergoes very profound changes under the impact of monopolization and standardization. Since the superego no longer evolves primarily in a dialectical spiritual process between child and father, but is largely

the representative of all kinds of collective groups, the child today does not fear his father so much as he fears his collectivized peers of the school, of the athletic, or the work group. The boy has to adapt himself to a group that is more powerful and less spiritual, less "internalized" than parental authority ever was. This modification in super-ego formation and all the modern forms of group life lead to a radical change in the present type of man. The social prognosis is not very good as long as this state of affairs prevails, and as long as this type of group education and group life is tied to an extremely hierarchical form of society. The prevalent repressive features of our society must make these groups more irrational than they would be even in a society without social and economic injustices.

However, it must be borne in mind that such trends cannot arbitrarily be reversed by individuals. They represent overwhelming historical forces. What can be done is to seek effective ways and means of influencing the most threatening and deadly effects of these processes.

The present book contains various studies focused in just this direction. The authors do not naively presuppose that anti-Semitism is purely a "psychological problem". They acknowledge those overwhelming historical forces which today lend their momentum to anti-Semitism. As a matter of fact, some of the studies are devoted to certain nerve centers where social and psychological causation merge. The fate of the world is determined, to a great extent, by the operation of economic laws beyond the control of man, rather than by the "nature" of man, whatever that term may connote. Thus it is impossible to resolve the crisis of occidental culture by simply going back to its human sources, even to those buried in the depth of the unconscious. Such an exclusively psychological explanation would presuppose a state of affairs in which anti-Semitism were not so sinister a threat as it actually is. However,

certain manifestations in the present world situation are so unequivocal that both the sociological and psychological sources of destructive prejudice can be recognized and penetrated by scientific analysis. Relentless study of the instinctual dynamics of the personality may even reveal that the very same social forces make for the disintegration of individual identity and for the degeneration of civilization. Viewed from this perspective, the following studies should be understood as a basis for further research and practical efforts.

Chapter Two

ELEMENTS OF A PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM*

Since psychoanalysis is a method of treating or investigating individual minds, there can be, strictly speaking, only a psychoanalysis of the anti-Semite, not of anti-Semitism. The question is what can the comparison of *psychoanalyses of many anti-Semites* contribute to an understanding of the social phenomenon of anti-Semitism?

The motives of human action are determined not only by the biological structure, on the one hand, and actual external stimuli, on the other; but also by the history of the individual, i.e., by the influence of past external stimuli on the biological structure, which have formed and modified patterns of reaction; it is early gratifications and frustrations, permitted or prohibited discharges of instinctual energies in infancy, which created fears, hopes, and desires, and formed individual patterns of reaction. The irrational and rigid ones among the reaction patterns stem from influences which have met with a defense and have therefore remained unconscious, not participating in the maturation of the personality. Hence, irrational social reaction patterns have been designated "mass neuroses", because they actually are motivated by previous unconscious structure-forming conflicts of the individuals,—like neuroses. They differ, however, from neuroses in two points: in regard to the social sanctions they receive, and to the social functions they fulfill.

In other words: The psychoanalysis of anti-Semites is

* A modified version of a paper published in "The American Imago," I, 1940, No. 2

indispensable if anti-Semitism is to be understood. But it is in no way sufficient to explain it. After a study of the influences determining the structure of the anti-Semitic personality and of how this structure functions, the questions of the genesis of these influences and of the social function of the anti-Semitic reaction still remain unanswered. Although both, individual neurotic phenomena, and "mass neurotic" phenomena of political and historical significance, have their origin in individual structure as well as in external influences, they are diametrically opposite in one respect. The individual neurotic does not react to current experiences in an appropriate way but with a definite pattern developed in childhood; this relative importance of the individual structure and comparative insignificance of current experiences may lead analysts—preoccupied with the treatment of neurotics—to underestimate the significance of current experiences and to overestimate structure. In the case of historically important mass-psychological phenomena, the contrary is true. The human instinctual structure has remained relatively unchanged in the course of historical times. It cannot be the chief factor requisite for an understanding of changes within these times. Of importance here are the current, external stimuli which affect the relatively constant human structure very differently in different eras and societies, particularly those current situations that affect whole groups in the same, or in a similar way. The instinctual structure of the average man in Germany was no different in 1935 from what it was in 1925. The psychological mass basis for anti-Semitism, whatever it may be, existed in 1925 too, but anti-Semitism was not a political force then. If an understanding of its origin and development in that ten-year period in Germany is sought, then the investigation must be focused on what happened there during those years, and not on the comparatively unaltered unconscious.

In order completely to understand the reaction of the masses to these happenings, however, it is essential also to understand *that which* is reacting, that which is roused or inhibited or displaced in the human structure; and for this psychoanalysis is needed.

In order to gain this understanding let us therefore begin at the surface and descend gradually to the depths. The principal thing which changed during those ten years was the amount of anti-Semitic mass propaganda. The effectiveness of this propaganda was the chief thing which altered the attitude of the masses. But why did this propaganda arise, and how did it work? What was present in the masses which made them believe what they were told? The first thought is that people are most ready to accept suggestions which bring some advantage to them. What advantage does anti-Semitism bring to the average man? Well, for instance, the prospect of obtaining a job which has been taken from a Jew. This should not be underestimated, but one sees at first glance that such an explanation is not sufficient, that it is too superficial because it is too unspecific. What purpose, then, does the spreading of anti-Semitic propaganda serve? Here we can perhaps learn more from Czarist Russia than from Germany. The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion were forged by the Czarist police, who knew for what purpose they forged them. As a result of the general misery extant, there was a rebellious tendency directed against the ruling powers. The police surmised that, if the propaganda succeeded, the Jews would be thought to be the cause of conditions, and not the authorities, and the revolutionary tendency would be redirected against them. The terrible pogroms showed that this intention succeeded. The advantage that anti-Semitism gave to the average person then, was different from that of the prospect of a job. The people were in a conflict between a rebellious tendency

and the respect for authority to which they had been trained. Anti-Semitism gave them the means of satisfying these two contradictory tendencies at the same time; the rebellious tendency through destructive actions against defenseless people, and the respectful tendency through obedient action in response to the command of the ruling powers. The police plot achieved its goal: the people believed that their enemies were likewise the enemies of the ruling powers.

This undoubtedly correct, but neither sufficiently deep nor sufficiently specific theory of anti-Semitism we shall call the "scapegoat theory". As is well-known, the Jews used to load all their sins onto a goat, and then drive it out into the desert in order to purify themselves. In the same way the ruling classes laid their sins onto the Jews. Just here, I should like to mention an excellent article by Arnold Zweig, which shows how deeply this conception of the Jews as scapegoats is anchored in the soul of the German people.* Zweig analyzes a folk-tale by Grimm, the story of: "The Jew in the Thorn", which tells of a man-servant who, having been swindled out of his wages, manages to get the money from a Jew instead of from his master; the chief point being that he feels himself to be absolutely right in cheating the Jew—after all, he himself had served his seven years honestly. Zweig correctly points out that all the features of modern anti-Semitism are strongly marked in this ancient folk-tale, which dates at least from the time of the Bauernkrieg, (Peasants' War) 1500 A.D. At that time, too, there was a ruling class that needed to deflect the mass-discontent directed against itself; then, too, apart from this mass-displeasure, there was a mass-preparedness for submission, a change in the structure of the masses brought about by education; their conscience

* Arnold Zweig Der Jude im Dorn. *Die Weltbuehne*, Berlin, 1936.

troubled them when they dared to think of proceeding against the authorities. They were therefore grateful that they could vent their rage without anything happening to their masters or without rousing their anger, and against an opponent who dared not defend himself.

But we must go further. This explanation applies to the persecution of all minorities. It needs specification on such questions as: what kind of people tend to accept suggested "scapegoats"; what kind of people tend to reject the suggestion; how do the members of the minority react to their role as scapegoats? Moreover, it is in itself not specific enough as a theory. The next problem that presents itself, a problem not neglected by Zweig either is: Why are the Jews especially suitable as displacement substitutes? Is it mere chance that in a given situation anti-Semitic propaganda is instituted and not, for instance, propaganda against redheads? Surely not. There must be something in the mass mind which meets anti-Semitism half-way; the Jew must be the "born scapegoat" for his hosts. That he is preferred to redheads is due to his history, which shows how often he has proved his suitability as a scapegoat.

Why is this role so fatally suited to him?

The first answer to this question is a rational one. The Jew has always been more defenseless than the redhead. Secondly, when the social order, or rather, disorder, produces undue misery, then the victim of this misery rarely is in a position to discover its origin, partly because the underlying causes are too complicated, and partly because the existing ruling class does everything in its power to obscure the true connections. The point is then to find someone in the environment who appears to the victim to be the cause of his misery. For centuries it has been the Jew, in his role as money lender, and as tradesman, who has appeared to those confronted with financial need as the representative of money, regardless of how much Jewish poverty there

prevailed at the same time. This point must not be underestimated, either. It must be remembered that the Armenians, too, who were persecuted by the Turks, just as the Jews had been persecuted by the Russians and Germans, were the commercial people among their Turkish hosts. Still the impression persists that too much importance should not be placed on this situation, that it only serves to strengthen other factors which come from more unconscious depths, and which are not yet known. It must also be pointed out that the persecution of minorities for their commercial activities does not hold with respect to other social phenomena analogous to anti-Semitism, for instance the persecution of Negroes in America. The American Negroes were slaves, and in order to understand their ostracism, the history and social function of slavery, and of the fights for and against it, have to be studied. But the Negroes have another trait that makes them suitable as scapegoats: they are black. Jews have also been reviled by anti-Semites because of their cultural or physical "racial" peculiarities. Their hair frequently is black, even if their skin is not; moreover, they are foreign in their customs and habits, in their language, in their divine service, and their everyday life which is so interwoven into their divine service. This foreignness they share with the Armenians, the Negroes, and the gypsies; and herein is to be found the secret which has made others believe them to be wicked evil-doers. People of one's own kind and the ruling powers one does not suspect of evil, but people who look different and speak and behave differently,— they may be capable of anything. In this sense, there is some truth in the frequent anti-Semitic assertion: "Anti-Semitism is the Jews' own doing, because their behavior is provocative". However, it must be added that it is not the "bad manners" of the Jew which are provocative, but his specific strangeness, which we will now try to study.

At this point the question of anti-Semitism moves away from the psychology of the anti-Semitic people, and goes over to the psychology of the Jews. The obstinacy with which the Jews have resisted assimilation through the ages, although other people in similar situations have, during the course of history, been absorbed by their hosts, represents a problem too complex for thorough examination here. It is obviously due (1) to the ghetto system, which excluded the Jews artificially from full participation in the cultural life of the host nations, the origin and function of this system presenting a problem of its own, and (2) to a stubborn acceptance of the ghetto system by the Jews themselves. The Jews retained their peculiarities, and their hosts did not understand them. These peculiarities, however, were conspicuous. They stem partly from the time when the Jews had an independent state, and were adhered to because of their never-ending hope of regaining that state — and partly from much later times. Cult and holy literature stem from that very ancient past, and have an oriental stamp. In their clothes and everyday language, however, they were fixated at an entirely different period. The Jewish language as well as traditional Jewish clothing resemble the language and clothing used by the Germans during those centuries when the Jews, driven from Spain, passed through and temporarily settled in Germany on their way to the East. The Jews retained peculiarities of their hosts, which these hosts themselves had given up long since. Subsequently, their strangeness gave the impression of something archaic, of something left over from ancient times—which the non-Jew himself had overcome—similar to the strangeness with which the nomadism of the gypsies impressed the settled peoples.

What does all this mean psychologically? What underlies the equation of primitive thinking: Foreign=Hostile? Even today we meet every foreigner in a contradictory or,

as we say, ambivalent manner. Some nations, like the British, do this to a large extent, others, like the Americans, to a lesser. The essential quality of foreigners is that one does not know them yet, therefore does not know what to expect from them. Perhaps it would be as well to be on good terms with them, or perhaps it would be better to render them harmless as quickly as possible. How different it must have been in ancient times, when nations had less frequent contact with one another, when the cultural peculiarities of each nation were much more strongly marked. Foreigners might bring advantages through inventions they had made or be a danger if they were more advanced in the technique of arms. In the ancient world foreigners were "sacer", an interesting word, which meant both holy and accursed. The strangeness of the Jews was of a special kind because of its archaic character, which often was combined with an indisputable mental superiority in certain spheres, which, in turn, perhaps was made use of by the commercial Jews, to take advantage of other people. The Jews were clever, and at the same time appeared to be connected with old primeval powers with which the others had lost touch. When the authorities said that these "uncanny" people were evil, the others readily believed the authorities because of their own obvious misery.

Therefore, what could one expect from the Jews? What fantastic evils were they capable of? We may begin here with ritual murder and the poisoning of wells, but we must also specify other things. Let us look at any kind of anti-Semitic literature. We read, again and again, that the Jews are murderers, are filthy, and debauched.

The first problem again must be to find the rational part of these accusations. Actually there is none. The Jew is a merchant and as such may be a swindler, but criminal statistics show that Jewish murderers are fewer than those of any other race. The religious laws of the Jews prescribe

particular cleanliness; and although the impoverished Jewish towns are undoubtedly very dirty, they are no more and probably less so than the Polish, White Russian, and Russian peasant villages; with regard to sexuality the Jews do not tend to excesses more than any other group. The accusations made against the Jews are creations of the peoples' imagination and these charges must be investigated in connection with the archaic foreignness that the Jews possess in the eyes of other races.

In psychoanalysis, we are in the habit of saying: "The patient is always right", i.e., even the most senseless neurotic phenomenon has a hidden meaning. In reality, the Jews are not murderous, dirty, or debauched to a greater extent than other groups. The latent meaning in the assertion that they are implies that murderous, dirty, and voluptuous tendencies are really concealed somewhere, and that once again the Jew is a scapegoat, a displacement substitute. Where are these tendencies to be found? Who is the real sinner?

Freud has taught us that everybody struggles all his life with repressed instincts which continue to exist in the unconscious; that among these original instincts, murderous tendencies and sexual impulses play the chief part, especially those sexual impulses which are considered objectionable, low, and dirty. The lust to kill, love of dirt, and low voluptuousness,—these are the things which people try painstakingly to keep hidden in their unconscious. One means of defense against strivings of one's unconscious is projection, that is, seeing in others that which one does not wish to become conscious of in oneself. This is a manifestation most marked in certain mental diseases, but it is also present in normal people, as for example, in the crusader against homosexuality, who is really fighting against his own repressed homosexual impulses. To the anti-Semite, the Jew appears to be murderous, dirty, and de-

bauched; thus the former can avoid becoming aware of these tendencies in himself. To him the Jew is the incarnation of the lust to kill, of low sexuality. It will shortly become clear how this projection is facilitated. But it is already comprehensible why riotous impulses are so easily deflected against the Jews. For the unconscious of the rioters, the Jew represents not only the authorities whom they do not dare to attack, but also their own repressed instincts which they hate and which are forbidden by the very authorities against whom they are directed. Anti-Semitism is indeed a condensation of the most contradictory tendencies: instinctual rebellion directed against the authorities, and the cruel suppression and punishment of this instinctual rebellion, directed against oneself. Unconsciously for the anti-Semite, the Jew is simultaneously the one against whom he would like to rebel, and the rebellious tendencies within himself. And a racial minority such as the Jew is especially suited to act as the carrier of this kind of projection because of its archaic and emphatic foreignness.

It can be expressed in one sentence: One's own unconscious is also foreign. Foreignness is the quality which the Jews and one's own instincts have in common. This is a particular case of Freud's explanation of the general phenomenon of that which is "uncanny" psychologically.* The feeling of uncanniness comes over us whenever something, that we once believed to be true and then rejected, proves to be true after all. All happenings are uncanny which seem to prove the existence of magical connections in the world, because we once thought magically, and later renounced this way of thinking in favor of the logical one. To the average person a murderer, in particular a parricide, or someone guilty of incest is uncanny, because each

* Sigmund Freud: *The Uncanny* *Collected Papers II*, London, 1924.

of us has felt such impulses — and later repressed them. Conversely, a person or race which is in any way uncanny, is capable of murder and incest. The Jew with his unintelligible language and incomprehensible God appears uncanny to non-Jews, not only because they cannot understand him and therefore can imagine him capable of all sorts of sins, but even more so, because somewhere in the depths, they can understand him very well, for his customs are archaic, that is, they exhibit elements which the non-Jews once had had, but lost later. The average German regards Jewish language and dress not only as “strange”, but a caricature, a ridiculing of his own language and dress. The Jewish language is, to him, “German in an ugly disguise”.

There is also a rational reaction which helps to strengthen the irrational side. The Jews as a racial minority have been oppressed everywhere. It is clear that the ruling people must fear the possible revenge of the oppressed people, particularly when the oppression appears to be unsuccessful, with the oppressed rising again and again, in the belief that they themselves are a chosen people, and refusing to give up their peculiarity despite all torture. Jehovah is held to be a revengeful God; and there is no doubt that he is described in many places in the Old Testament as a very revengeful old gentleman. But there is also no doubt that the command: “Love thy neighbor as thyself” does not come from the Christian religion but from the Jewish, that the Jewish God showed many loving and merciful traits, too. Why have these traits been forgotten by other races, and why do they imagine Jehovah, like the abstract concept of the Jew and of the Jewish people, to be malicious and revengeful? This concept, being of an irrational nature, cannot be changed by any real experiences with Jews. It is well known that every anti-Semite is acquainted with one Jew who is free of all abominable Jew-

ish qualities, yet this does not make any difference in his anti-Semitism.

The endless vengefulness of the wicked Jews is again a projection. The ruling people cannot imagine that the oppressed are not revengeful. They recognize archaic-deep features in their behavior and they know how revengeful they themselves would be. Rejected instincts and rejected ancient times are revived for them in these incomprehensible people who live as strangers in their midst. That which they had believed overcome appears to rise again and again like a hydra, and they try to cut off its heads. At the same time, they despise it in the same way in which they despise their own disavowed instincts. Contempt and disregard are intended to help them overcome their fear. They try to refute their fear by proving to themselves how easy it is to attack the defenseless. But the proof is never definitive. With a curious pride, even with arrogance, the defenseless rise again and again. The fear is not dispelled and therefore they must go on despising and humiliating over and over again to refute this irrefutable fear. And yet they never succeed.

Apart from all this, there are still other circumstances which make the position clearer. One is the fact that Jewish peculiarities and culture center almost exclusively around a common faith, the Jewish religion.

When the Romans conquered a nation, they erected a temple in Rome to the gods of the conquered people — to be on the safe side. This god might be powerful, then they would have to fear his revenge for oppressing his people; in any case, it was better to reconcile with him. The revenge of the gods of the oppressed nation is a dangerous thing.

Now there is a strange thing about the gods. The religions of all peoples and all times work with the fear which stems from the "uncanny". Both the image of the god himself, and the cult contain many "archaic" features reanimat-

ing elements that are old and have been overcome in order to fill the believers with fear or awe, and thus keep a hold on them. The gods have always had not only supernatural traits but besides also "low" animal and instinctual traits which evoke fear. One thing seemed to rouse their particular wrath: namely, to be looked at. In the Jewish religion, too, the sight of the Holy of Holies was reserved for the High Priest once a year, and the congregation had to turn away at Yom Kippur when the priest threw himself on his knees before God. The sight of God (among primitive people the sight of the king, his representative) means death.

Instead of discussing significance and genesis of this prohibition against looking, it may suffice here to state that it is universal. From this prohibition against looking it is only one step to the idea that God is a terrible, horror-inspiring, — an ugly sight. And, as is well known, many of the gods of primitive people are incredibly ugly. In the higher religions, there are concealed allusions of a similar kind understandable as such through psychoanalysis. It is interesting that the uncanniness of the ugly God is based on his reanimating something which had been overcome. For the ugly features of a god are always animal features, and the first incarnation of the dead chief, the great ancestor, who was later made god, was the totem animal, and totemism preceded religion. This awe-inspiring part of the cult, where a dreadful being threatened to show himself, exercised a strange charm. Today we see a degenerated residue in the side-shows at fairs. The fairs originated in connection with the worship of God, and were connected with it (much as a satyr play is connected with the seriousness of the tragedy) and are still called "Messe" in German, which has the meaning of "mass". Here people are offered dreadful sights which are otherwise forbidden or inaccessible. And what is there to be seen? Rare animals, de-

formities, waxen images of criminals, sexual secrets. It may seem like blasphemy to relate this to the worship of God, but there is a connection which does not rouse this feeling and which leads us back to anti-Semitism. At the fair one does not see native, but exotic animals; and one does not see native, but exotic gods. This double character of wonder and fear, of highest beauty and terrifying ugliness, attributes of God, merges with the double character of wonder and fear, inherent in foreigners—both are “sacer”—in terms of the feeling one has for strange gods, and which caused the Romans to erect temples to the conquered gods. It is unbearable, in the long run, to have contradictory feelings for one and the same object. And in the same way that the fairy tale makes it possible for the child to manage the contradictory feelings it has for its mother, by introducing two mothers, a wholly good mother and a wholly wicked stepmother, thereby dividing between two people the love and hate felt toward the same person, so the perception of a strange god has been used by all people in all ages to divide the love and hate felt for God between two objects: their own God, who is good and beautiful, and the strange one who is wicked and ugly.

Many religious systems are dualistic. They have a good and a bad principle, an Ahriman and an Ormuzd, separate from God — a devil. Reik has shown that the devil is the degenerate strange God, the God of the strange, of the conquered people, whose revenge is feared.* The devil is always more uncanny than God, always has more archaic characteristics, namely animal qualities—goats' feet, horns, tail, and ugliness. Therefore, he is always suitable as a carrier of the projection of one's own instinctual impulses; he is murderous, dirty, debauched, a tempter and a deceiver. It is clear to the anti-Semite that the Jewish God,

* Theodor Reik *Der eigene und der fremde Gott*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Vienna, 1920.

and thus the Jew, is the devil, the anti-Christ, the wicked principle directed against God, which crucified God. The devil, too, characteristically is despised and dreaded at the same time. One thing more: this "degraded" strange God is not only animal and ugly,— he is usually crippled. The deformed, blind, lame, and hunchbacked are "sacer" to primitive people; they are regarded as beings near to God, as seers, but also as dangerous; altogether, they are uncanny to the ordinary mortal. Interesting, though outside the theme of this paper, is the fact that ordinary man entertains similar feelings toward the artist; he, too, has retained a more archaic character. Frequently, we see that people who have longer noses and darker hair than others are therefore regarded as practically deformed. What is the rational essence of the special position of deformed people? The deaf, hunchbacks, and, in particular, red-haired people are regarded as malicious and ill-natured. Why? Because they are really at a disadvantage compared with average people, and because the average people tend to despise and laugh at them, and they, in turn, tend to protect themselves by aggressiveness. The physically inferior are a badly-treated minority, and, therefore, their revenge is feared. This fear is condensed with the deep feelings of uncanniness entertained toward the devil and the cripple-god, and increases when any physical disadvantage or dissimilarity is combined with superiority in certain mental spheres (think of the uncanny, skillful, lame blacksmith of the sagas). Such a combination is considered proof of a magic alliance with supernatural powers (particularly so if the bearers of such marks regard themselves as the "chosen people"). Like the Jewish language, the typical Jewish physical appearance is felt and cartooned as diabolically ugly.

But the sight of a cripple not only rouses the fear of strangeness and revenge, but also the special fear that he

will want to transform others into cripples. It would lead too far to undertake a psychoanalysis of the burial and death customs of the various peoples. But we know that they are all based on the tendency to prevent an unconsciously feared return of the dead, who could revenge themselves for their dying, by fetching the living and causing them also to die. Is there any reason to suppose that other people fear that Jews may want to change them into Jews, too?

Reference is often made to the opinion once expressed by Freud that anti-Semitism is connected with the Jewish custom of circumcision.* It is, of course, not my intention to maintain that anti-Semitism consists only of the uncircumcised despising the circumcised as unmanly, and fearing that the circumcised will want to circumcise them in revenge. The matter is somewhat more complicated, and circumcision is only one of many customs which are felt to be uncanny. But I should like to elaborate what Freud meant by this remark.

Circumcision is not a purely Jewish custom. Many other races have this archaic custom, too; the problem here is why the Jews have remained conservative in this respect, as in so many others. Apart from the oriental peoples, circumcision is practiced among many primitive races — proof of the age-old nature of this custom. Some primitive races which do not practice circumcision, have other analogous customs, more or less sanguinary injuries to the genitals or other parts of the body which have become substitutes for the genitals. To be sure, such injuries are usually perpetrated on young people at puberty and not soon after birth. This is the essence of the so-called “initiation ceremonies” whereby the young people are accepted into the

* Sigmund Freud: *Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy*, *Collected Papers III*, London, 1924.

adult community. It is certain that this is the older form of the custom, and that in the case of the Jews, for some unknown reason, the ceremony was transposed from puberty to infancy. It is not easy to determine the meaning of such holy practices.* Perhaps it can be guessed by their effect. The youth who has now become a man will be proud of his initiation into the adult community, and his feeling will be increased by his now being allowed the right of sexual intercourse — among others —; but the price he has had to pay for this admittance, that of having to endure pain, shows him drastically that he can enjoy the protection of this community only as long as he obeys it, and that he may expect unpleasant things if he does not adhere to certain conditions. And in fact, this and analogous social measures have worked. Even today, we find deep in the unconscious of man the fear that his penis may be cut off if he sins, a fear which acts as the chief motor for the instinct-suppression desired by the patriarchal society.

The drastic reminder of the sanguinary puberty rites of the primitives has been replaced by less drastic measures during the course of history.** The Jewish circumcision, although practiced on the infant, is still comparatively drastic. It has remained a really sanguinary operation on the genitals. The knowledge of this fact on the part of the uncircumcised has undoubtedly increased the feeling of uncanniness which the Jew gives them. It has helped to lend a more precise form to the indefinite fear that a retaliation on the part of these curious people is imminent; this retaliation assumes a sexual form. The Jews will do something to the little girls of other races in the same way that they do something sanguinary-sexual to the little boys of their own race. Psychoanalysts are of the opinion, there-

* Theodor Reik *Die Pubertaetsriten der Wilden, Imago IV, 1915.*

** Otto Fenichel. Ueber Trophaee und Triumph, *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse XXIV, 1939*

fore, that circumcision, which is strange — yet familiar in unconscious depths — operates in the same way as the other customs which make the Jew appropriate as a devil-projection.

In addition to stubbornly retaining archaic features and rejecting occasional opportunities for assimilation — or rather accepting the external denials of opportunities for assimilation with a kind of Gueux pride — and centering all this around his religion, the Jew does this in a manner which makes him still more apposite as a scapegoat for others.

We assume that what is called “national character” is created historically through actual conditions of living which, reflecting traditional ways of child raising, are perpetuated through the impress of one generation upon the succeeding one. Among the traits of the Jewish national character, there is one which is especially striking. It seems as if less direct aggression is permissible to the Jew than to other nations (which may be connected with the fact that the use of arms was prohibited to them for centuries). Instead, they develop many forms of indirect aggression. One of these indirect aggressions is their traditional belief in their being the chosen people, superior to the “barbarians”. Jewish tradition is extremely patriarchal. The son is not permitted in any way to rebel directly against the father. The father, however, is proud of his son when he himself is surpassed by his son in some intellectual or spiritual accomplishment. Analysts know similar pictures from the study of compulsion neurotics with severe and ambivalent father complexes. Their masochism and guilt feeling is obvious, their latent sadism and rebellion is masked by Gueux Pride and intellect. This Jewish patriarchal tradition determined the way in which the Jews, through the centuries, became accustomed to react to the anti-Semitism of their environment: (a) Superficially: “The

more others exclude us, the nearer we are to our God". (b) On a deeper level: "By participating in the power of our God, we are magically superior to our enemies to whom we are physically inferior". This attitude increased the uncanny magical fear the host peoples felt toward the Jews, which, in turn, gave rise to increased "attack" by the belief in magical superiority on the part of the Jews and increased attack gave rise to increased fear and anti-Semitism.

What caused Jewish national character to evolve in this way is a problem in itself. Here again, the ghetto system may offer a partial explanation. However, extreme patriarchy is in no way limited to people who have lived in ghettos, but is rather generally a sign that in the given culture the idea of murdering the father is more definitely repressed than in others, which must be due to the social history of the nation in question. Freud, in his book on *Moses*,* suggested a hypothesis as to why the Christian religion has admitted the idea of "killing God" to consciousness, whereas the Jews have repressed it. (This is the reason why the Christians, projectively, tend to accuse the Jews of this very crime of being the "murderers of God".) For our purpose, it is enough to understand that the ancient history of a people forms and determines the structure of the character of subsequent generations by means of tradition and education.

¹To sum up: The anti-Semite arrives at his hate of the Jews by a process of displacement, stimulated from without. He sees in the Jew everything which brings him misery — not only his social oppressor but also his own unconscious instincts, which have gained a bloody, dirty, dreadful character from their socially induced repression. He can project onto the Jews, because the actual peculiarities of Jewish life, the strangeness of their mental culture,

* Sigmund Freud *Moses and Monotheism*, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 1939

their bodily (black) and religious (God of the oppressed peoples) peculiarities, and their old customs make them suitable for such a projection.

Perhaps there will be one objection to this formula: If it is true, two premises must be fulfilled before anti-Semitism can become a mass movement. First, a revolutionary mood, or at least an intense discontent of the masses with the existing state of affairs, a discontent that may be channeled in the direction of the Jews as scapegoats; second, a Jewish cultural life and tradition in the midst of the host culture, without there being much connection between the two. Both of these conditions were present in Czarist Russia, which therefore provided the ideal conditions for the development of anti-Semitism. The situation was probably similar in the anti-Semitic movement of the Middle Ages. However, the conditions do not seem to be fulfilled in modern anti-Semitism, neither in National Socialist Germany nor in the United States. In Germany, the emancipation of the Jews had made considerable progress. The majority of the Berlin Jews had little or no Jewish life or tradition, a fact which the Prague and Viennese Jews, who were nearer to the Eastern Jews, often used to ridicule. The Berlin Jews considered themselves Germans. There was no archaic foreignness appropriate for purposes of projection. However, the success of using the Jews and not red-heads as scapegoats proves that the foreignness, or at least the memory of it, was still there. We may assume that discontent of the masses and Jewish separateness form a complementary series in order to produce anti-Semitism. In Germany prior to National Socialism, the discontent of the masses was so enormous that little Jewish separateness was needed. Jewish emancipation was young, and the Middle Ages had been long. Historical changes occur slowly, and memories of "Jewish separateness" were, in spite of the relative actual absence of this separateness, strong enough

to permit the development of anti-Semitism when mass discontent became acute.

But what about the United States? At first glance, one may perhaps assume that here the complementary series is reverse in structure. There is no general revolutionary mood, and at least in some parts of the United States, traditional Jewish life is practised by many. However, Jewish peculiarities have certainly not increased recently, whereas anti-Semitism has. Does this mean that there is actually a mass discontent comparable to the discontent in pre-Hitler Germany? It seems as if our theory of anti-Semitism compels us to assume something of the kind. In a certain sense, something of "mass discontent" must be present; the question is, in what sense? Probably the answer has to be sought in two directions: (1) The suffering of the American people in the last war certainly did not stand any comparison with the enormous suffering of the European peoples. But if we do not compare Americans and Europeans, but rather measure the present conditions in America against the past, we must admit that relatively Americans *are* suffering. (2) In all fields we hear complaints about lack of enthusiasm among Americans for our democracy and for their rights, which they take too much for granted. Their intellectual insight into their advantages and into the necessity of fighting for them, as well as the readiness to act according to this insight exist; nevertheless, an emotional enthusiasm for it is generally and strikingly lacking. Probably this is due to the feeling that the hope for a more positive emotional gain, for a reliable end of the insecurities of the present world situation is lacking, and cannot be achieved through any amount of enthusiasm. To understand this, however, one would have to analyze the sociology of democracy, and of the factual possibilities, the successes and failures of democracy.

And so we have come back to where we began, to an

admission of the limitations of the psychological explanation. The full utilization of the psychological facts which we have studied so that they become a real and politically effective power is only possible under certain economic and political circumstances. To discuss these is beyond the scope of this paper. However, this does not mean that they are of secondary importance.

Chapter Three

ANTI-SEMITISM AND MASS PSYCHOPATHOLOGY*

I

History has proved that anti-Semitism, though its manifestations may vary at different epochs, has remained basically the same throughout the ages, irrespective of the changing structure of society and irrespective of the changes the Jews themselves have undergone. This truism apparently justifies viewing anti-Semitism as a problem, or rather, as a by-product of civilization. For it is the civilizing process which, in "passing over mankind", determines the basic ethical values and social standards of the community of man.

The question arises: Is it possible that the periodically recurrent casting out of the Jew from the world of the Gentile may be a *necessary* by-product of our civilization? From the psychoanalytic study of character formation we have learned that irrational ideas associated with irrational action impulses serve the individual's need for restoring a pathologically disturbed mental equilibrium. Does the *collective* character of a community, its civilization, likewise undergo psychopathological disturbances which create anti-Semitism as an irrational mass phenomenon? To find an answer to this question we must embark on an investigation of the inter-relationship between anti-Semitism and civilization.

Great parliamentarians who have had to fight against anti-Semitism as a political power, have always been aware of its deeper implications for civilization. In 1890, when anti-Semitism had achieved official representation in the

* Bibliography to this chapter, see p. 138.

Reichstag, Eugen Richter, one of the great liberal German parliamentarians, said: "If we allow this movement to grow, we will destroy the very pillars on which our civilization rests". Rathenau, German Minister of Foreign Affairs after World War I and of Jewish descent, who was assassinated by anti-Semites, asserted: "Anti-Semitism is the vertical invasion of Society by the barbarians".

By precept and example, the German has shown us that anti-Semitism can reverse the process of civilization and reduce the anti-Semitic personality to the original stage of primitive cannibalism. Applying our method of psychoanalytic-dialectic thinking, we must infer not that anti-Semitism annihilates the achievements of civilization, but that the process of civilization itself *produces* anti-Semitism as a pathological symptom formation, which in turn tends to destroy the soil from which it has grown. Anti-Semitism is a malignant growth on the body of civilization.

What is civilization? Freud showed us that it is a collective process of character development which, as he phrased it, "passes over mankind", in a way analogous to character development in the individual. There is an inner relationship between individual character development and collective character development. Before the individual can reach the level of his own civilization, he must first repeat within himself in an accelerated and abbreviated manner all the historical phases through which his culture has passed.

Therefore, if anti-Semitism signifies a form of regression into a previous stage of human character development, it may mean one of three things: a regression to infantile developmental stages of the individual anti-Semite, or a retrogressive development in the collective process of civilization, or a disturbance in the interaction of relationships between the individual and civilization. I believe that the third condition obtains, as I have already indicated above.

I consider anti-Semitism a psychopathological personality disturbance, manifesting a regression to the ontogenetic as well as to the phylogenetic stage of the development of the ego when hatred, the predecessor of the capacity to love, governed its environmental relationships. It is this *pathology of hate* from which the human race suffers and which, as well as other morbid conditions, generates anti-Semitism.

As clinical psychiatrists our endeavor must be first, to diagnose the mental disorder of anti-Semitism by studying its genesis and its manifestations, and secondly, to direct our thinking toward helping the anti-Semite to rid himself of his disease.

Of course there is no such thing as individual psychoanalytic treatment for anti-Semitism; an anti-Semite will never seek psychoanalytic help because he wants to get rid of his anti-Semitism. Above all, he has no insight into his illness and therefore does not consider himself sick. On the contrary, his anti-Semitism provides him with certain essential gains of illness. It gives him a feeling of ego inflation, of superiority, for he belongs to a community with supposedly superior values, the community of the non-Jews.

We are able to draw some conclusions about anti-Semitism from the psychoanalytic treatment of those individuals who seek our help for severe neurotic ailments, and who also have anti-Semitic tendencies. From these individual treatments we have come to know that in certain cases the basic complex at the bottom of the individual obsessional idea of anti-Semitism is the latent homosexual complex, that complex which produces hate as a defense against the dangers of homosexual love.

However, it would be a grave mistake to assume that anti-Semitism as a mass movement of national and international appeal can be created by the cooperation of many

neurotic minds. To diagnose anti-Semitism as a mass neurosis is not completely accurate. Neurotic individuals can never form a group. The very essence of a neurosis is that it afflicts the individual with inhibitions and makes him asocial, an outsider to the group. Certainly anti-Semites do not suffer from inhibitions. On the other hand, it is true that a neurotic individual can attach himself to an existing pathological mass movement and in it can temporarily find a pseudo-adaptation to a distorted reality. It affords him a channel for partial discharge of formerly tabooed instinct energies. Neurotics can neither create nor sustain anti-Semitism as a psychopathological phenomenon of the masses. Anti-Semitism then is not a mass neurosis. Let us investigate further.

The average individual anti-Semite appears to be a relatively normal, well-adapted person. He goes about his business, takes care of his family, and so forth. But he hates the Jews and it makes him feel good to know that many of his friends share his sentiments.

In attempting to arrive at a psychoanalytic approach to an understanding of anti-Semitism as a mass phenomenon, we would go completely astray if we embarked on an investigation of the various accusations brought against the Jew.

We may take it for granted that many Jews have traits that many non-Jews dislike; for instance, that Jews tend to use their intellectual rather than their physical powers, (for the simple reason that their intellect is better developed than their physique) and that, accordingly, Jews predominate in professions where intellectual qualities are of decisive importance. Can these or similar characteristics explain the original cause of anti-Semitism? Certainly not.

By consulting history we learn that the personality traits just mentioned are not the cause, but the result of anti-Semitism. The Jewish people were fighters and farmers

and thinkers, like members of any other nationality group until following the diaspora, they were deprived of utilizing their physical energies in the fight for self-preservation by being enslaved and incarcerated in ghettos. With no land to cultivate, and no land of their own to fight for, the Jews necessarily deflected their normal, aggressive instinct energies from outer motor discharges to their intellect,— I might say, to the “inner motility” of their minds — as the only weapon left with which to attack life.

We can see that when the taboos are lifted, the Jewish personality develops no differently from that of any other individual. At the Olympic games in 1936, Jewish competitors won as many events as the English and of the eight world championships in boxing, Jews hold five.

In our times, of course, we are especially inclined to think of anti-Semitism as a weapon in the hands of politicians, as a stratagem in national and international political warfare, as a means to a rational end, namely, to deceive the masses about the origin of their frustrations and to deflect their reactive hatred and aggressions from their rulers to the Jews as scapegoats. Anti-Semitism as a political force is not so old as we think; it was created around 1870. Anti-Semitism as a factor in government and party politics was initiated in Germany and from there spread to other countries.

In the pursuit of this investigation, we cannot concern ourselves with the content of the present-day political accusations against the Jews, even though these false charges so often have fatal consequences. What interests us are the reasons for the effectiveness of these accusations. What makes these obviously irrational indictments acceptable to the anti-Semitic mind?

From a psychiatric point of view one phenomenon deserves our attention. I refer to the fact that in Germany and Austria, the homelands of political anti-Semitism, the

repercussions on the Jews had, if I may put it so, a relatively civilized character, as long as the defamation of the Jews contained some reference to reality factors as for example: the Jews did not love their country, or they possessed all the money in the land, they aspired to all the top positions in the learned professions, and the like.

In these phases of the movement, the anti-Semitic complex apparently got adequate satisfaction from the fact that the Jews were deprived of certain realistic achievements: they were denied government positions and excluded from university professorships; they were prohibited from becoming army officers and their business establishments were boycotted. In other words, as long as anti-Semitism could be rationalized on a political-economic basis, the Jews were not attacked physically — they were not killed. It was only when such rationalizations were no longer tenable, when anti-Semitic sentiments had become divorced from the concepts of present-day civilization, that merciless and complete physical destruction of the Jews followed.

The irrationality in the Nazi concept of anti-Semitism first manifested itself in the accusations that the Jews were guilty of two mutually contradictory crimes: on the one hand, the Jews formed the golden capitalistic and plutocratic international aimed at robbing all the peoples of the world; and on the other, they formed the red anti-capitalistic communistic international, in order to take away all the money from capitalists throughout the world. The concept of the Jew as an enemy lost all realistic meaning. President Roosevelt became a Jew and the English leaders of the war likewise became Jews; in other words, the Jew was omnipresent, secreted in everyone inimical to present-day Germany. The Jew became *the* enemy absolute. The progress of Nazi anti-Semitism toward complete irrationality is manifested in Hitler's statement: "The Jew's baseness becomes so gigantic that no one need wonder that

among our people the *personification of the Devil*, as the symbol of all evil, assumes the living appearance of the Jew". By succumbing to such slogans, which are without reference to present-day realities, the anti-Semitic personality renounces completely its allegiance to current standards of civilization. The barriers of repression are lifted; the instinct forces of primitive hate and destruction unleashed. The resulting Jewish massacres of today are a repetition of the Jewish massacres during the Middle Ages. Today Jews by the thousands are destroyed by demonized chemistry; five hundred years ago, they were burned on the pyre. The irrational delusional accusation remains essentially the same: The Jews of the Middle Ages were destroyed as disciples of the Devil, as representatives of the anti-Christ.

The purpose of the material thus far presented has been to show that the degree to which the ideational manifestation of the anti-Semitic complex loses reference to reality — its gradual transformation from an illusion into a delusion — determines the eventual discharge of unrestricted destructive instinct energies.

This clinical syndrome: *unrestricted aggressive destructiveness under the spell of a delusion*, in complete denial of reality, is well known to us as a *psychosis*; it is the paranoid form of schizophrenia. Thus anti-Semitism as a mass phenomenon appears to be not a mass neurosis, but a *mass psychosis*.

It may seem contradictory to make such a statement, because I maintained earlier that the individual anti-Semite, the participant in the anti-Semitic delusion is, by and large, a relatively normal, well-adapted person. However, the following investigation will dissipate this discrepancy by demonstrating that the process of group formation itself, when occurring under pathological conditions, can bring about a mass delusion, which in turn temporarily

disintegrates the ego system of the individual members of the group.

To substantiate the diagnosis of anti-Semitism as a *mass psychosis* we must embark on a program of diverse investigations; we must first define the essence of the individual psychosis and compare its characteristics with those of a mass psychosis, such as anti-Semitism. We must ask ourselves what brings about a delusional disorder of the mass mind, but leaves the individual mind still intact. What is the relationship of a delusion, either mass or individual, to action impulses? As far as the anti-Semitic delusion is concerned, we must strip it of all rationalizations, and uncover its relation to one specific latent anti-Semitic complex. And finally we must try to gain an understanding of the mental mechanisms that allow anti-Semitism to spread like an infectious disease. We must investigate *the psychology of defamation and calumny*.

In turning my attention to the individual psychosis, I do not intend to survey the entire pathogenesis of schizophrenia; my interest is in a study solely of those manifestations which the individual psychosis seems to have in common with the collective psychosis. I refer to the *symptom of the delusion* and to the *phenomenon of unrestricted discharge of destructive aggressions*.

In studying that one aspect of schizophrenia, namely, the role of the destructive instinct energies in its pathogenesis, I must base my argument on my own personal opinion about the character of the instinct of destruction which, to some extent, differs from the viewpoint generally accepted. My theory relates destruction to an instinct of self-preservation and has been published under the title, "Self-Preservation and the Death Instinct". This theory enables us better to understand a number of psychopathological phenomena, among them the psychotic disorder, on which we are here focussing our attention.

I shall go into my theory only insofar as it concerns our topic. It introduces into the psychoanalytic instinct theory an *instinct of devouring in man*. Briefly it states: Two instincts govern our lives, an erotic instinct of love with the ultimate aim of preserving the race, and a destructive devouring instinct of hatred, with the aim of preserving the self. Not only were our primordial ancestors cannibals. We all enter life with the instinct impulse to devour not only food, but also all frustrating objects. Before the infantile individual acquires the capacity to love, it is governed by a primitive hate relationship to its environment. At this stage, the tendency to devour the object serves not only the principle of physical, but that of mental self-preservation as well. Aggressive destruction is the primitive predecessor of the mental process of *repression*. For in the wish to incorporate an object, there is also inherent the wish to make this object disappear from conscious outward perception through assimilation with one's own ego.

Let us now consider the characteristics of a psychosis. A psychosis is specifically precipitated by a *break* of the ego *with reality*. Life has become unbearable because it presents the ego with conflicts which it is unable to solve. A break with reality means that the individual withdraws his instinct cathexes from the objects of his present world and allows his ego to escape from reality by regressing emotionally to a past level of his childhood, the stage of narcissistic self-love. So the psychotic ceases loving the object and loves only himself. Object libido becomes transformed into narcissistic ego libido. This over-abundance of narcissistic self-love accounts for the megalomaniac attitude of the psychotic, whereby he is enabled to deny the fact that he has been defeated in his struggle with reality.

The pre-morbid ego of the psychotic in its trend to regression does not stop at this stage of narcissism, which we call secondary narcissism. It is impelled to regress deeper,

to the stage of primordial narcissism, in which it is governed by its destructive instinct of self-preservation.

The process of regression is associated with a lifting of the barriers of repression. This release of repression allows unconscious material to enter the conscious ego, and thus the ego becomes subjected to drives and wishes of the inner irrational mental world called "inner psychic reality". Repression itself becomes regressively replaced by destructive aggression.

That the pre-morbid ego of the psychotic, on its path of escape from reality, *cannot* afford that expenditure of mental energy necessary to sustain the defense mechanism of repression is due to a specific developmental failure in its process of maturing. An ego is mature if it has developed a strong and *effective superego as the internalized representative of the external parental power*. The superego, on the one hand, helps the ego to test reality and, on the other, to act in accordance with this testing and at the same time, to assert itself in the clash between the demands of external reality and inner instinct claims. In the process of the deterioration of the psychotic ego system, the superego gradually succumbs to the id. This accounts for the fact that the ego loses its orientation toward reality as well as the capacity to differentiate between external object reality and inner irrational psychic reality.

The psychotic then sees the object world in terms of the irrational imagery of his unconscious. In my opinion, all these images which populate the world of the psychotic, are in essence representative of but one figure, that of the parent. The parent was the original representative of reality and it was in conflict with the parent or with later imaginary substitutes that the ego broke down. It broke down because it could not solve its conflict of ambivalence, of loving or hating the parent.

It is my hypothesis that the psychotic ego has regressed

or aims at regression to that infantile stage of development when there was no superego,—when its governing power was still represented by the parent. The psychotic re-externalizes his superego. Instead of identifying mentally with a parental object, he tends to attack and to devour it. Thus, the psychotic tends not only to reverse the mental process of repression, but also the mental act of identification to its primitive forerunner of actual incorporation by devouring.

The psychotic, as an adult, no longer depends on the one weak weapon of the child, inherited from animal ancestors, i.e., on his teeth. He can implement his arsenal of aggressions by his hands and can augment their destructiveness by knives and guns and also by some more modern devices as, for example, by robot bombs. If I were to illustrate visually my hypothesis that in psychotics regression—to the primordial form of aggression-biting—is operative, I would show a picture of Hitler when he feels frustrated in his desire for introjective destruction: lying on the floor, raging like a child and *biting into a carpet*, because there is no Jew at hand for him to sink his teeth into.

Let us now look back at the history of anti-Semitism and investigate in what respects this supposed mass psychosis is similar to, or in what ways it differs from the individual psychosis. The *relative* incapacity to adapt to reality, which precipitates all mental disorders, depends on a “complemental series” of causative factors. To be explicit: either external reality conditions undergo such catastrophic changes that even a relatively normal ego breaks down, or the ego is so weak by pre-morbid disposition, that even relatively minor object frustrations drive it to escape through the avenue of infantile regression. The precipitating cause of the mass psychosis of anti-Semitism is found at the reality end of the complemental series.

Anti-Semitism has always been flagrant when the se-

curity of the individual or society was shaken by catastrophic events. Panic because stemming from peoples' inability to master reality has always been the underlying cause of their taking refuge in anti-Semitic delusions and engaging in orgies of hate and destruction.

The manifest content of anti-Semitic accusations has assumed various forms, corresponding to current concepts and to the state of enlightenment of the general public. In medieval times, when nations were decimated by plagues and knew nothing about bacterial infections, the Jews were accused of having poisoned the wells. In our times, when individual economic existences are crumbling and the middle classes in Europe are undergoing a process of proletarianization, the people, ignorant of the sociological laws operative in these economic processes, believe the charges that the Jews are robbing them of their share and are accumulating all the money in the world. *Thus anti-Semitism, like the individual psychosis, is precipitated by a break with reality.*

To reiterate, the *individual* anti-Semite is not a psychotic—he is normal. It is only when he joins a group, when he becomes a member of a mass, that he loses certain qualities which determine normality, and thereby becomes instrumental in helping to produce a mass delusion, belief in which is shared by all the other group members. Our next question must therefore be: Why can a mass, as an entity, feel and act like a psychotic?

The answers have been given to us by LeBon and by Freud. They have taught us why the submergence of the individual ego into the collective ego of a group is and has always been one of the most direct avenues of escape from the stress of an unbearable and incomprehensible reality.

LeBon was the first to discover that in modern times "*the crowd man is on the march*". He states this with fear and contempt, because he did not know the deeper causes

of this phenomenon which was subsequently clarified by Freud. The life of man in our civilization is extremely difficult to bear because the individual must live "beyond his mental means", i.e., on the one hand, he does not have enough gratifications and sublimations for his desire to love and, on the other, he does not have enough possibilities for discharging the destructive tendencies, precipitated by his frustrations.

LeBon points out that the modern individual, in increasing degree, has the tendency to give up life as an individual and to submerge his ego into a crowd. He does not mention anti-Semitism, but expresses the fear that the crowd-mindedness of modern man will bring about the destruction of civilization.

Strecker, a modern psychiatrist, investigates the present predisposition to this crowd-mindedness, and finds that our adaptation to the reality of today is only a loose one, and is mostly a pseudo-adaptation kept up through a host of escape mechanisms, which allow a denial of reality. The title of his book, *Beyond the Clinical Frontiers*, implies that there is plenty of insanity outside our treatment rooms and hospitals. It indicates that the so-called normal individual, who longs to give up his individual ego, really has not much more reality to hold onto than the psychotic, because his work gives him no opportunity for sublimation. He says further:

"It is interesting to speculate as to what the mental patient might say in his own defense if he had his day in the Court of Mental Hygiene. Should a schizophrenic patient argue the matter of reality versus unreality. . . he might ask some rather embarrassing questions.

"Is it not possible that in the individuality of the mental patient. . . . there is an unconscious protest and in that protest a lesson? Perhaps a segment of that protest is against a scheme of standardized industrial civilization, so

efficiently standardized that tens of thousands of human beings are counted among the fortunate because they are given an opportunity to push a piece of tin under a machine which will punch a few holes in it, or perhaps the chance to attach a small part to something destined to become a motor-car, as it passes before them on a revolving belt."

In the framework of our "standardized industrial civilization", work itself is losing its primary aim of maintaining the individual's contact with reality. Instead it tends to lessen his contact with reality and to make him a more easy prey to the "crowd-mind".

How does LeBon explain the crowd-mindedness of the people? Let me cite a few quotations:

"Man as an individual is powerless. Within the mass he becomes powerful. By this feeling of overwhelming power, the member of the group cannot imagine any obstacles in the way of his action impulses. He feels that—whatever he might do—*impunity is assured to him*. He throws off all *inner* responsibilities. Thus, the mass wanders along the borderland of the unconscious, because it is governed by instinctual drives of destruction and wildness, which slumber in every one of us."

Let us translate LeBon's language into our psychoanalytic terminology. By becoming a member of the mass, the individual "throws off all his inner responsibility"; this implies that the crowd man throws off allegiance to his individual superego. He becomes a child of that period in which the only fear he had was that of the external power of his parents. This external parent can no longer punish him because, together with his mass he has become as powerful as the parent.

"The mass wandering along the borderland of the unconscious, governed only by instinctual drives of destruction" connotes: The individual member of the crowd no

longer needs to repress his infantile primordial destructive instinct drives, since he feels secure from punishment. He can indulge in instinct gratification instead of making instinct renunciations.

Thus, by identifying himself with the mass, the individual in his retreat from reality employs the same escape mechanism as the psychotic, i.e., regression to that infantile level of ego development when the superego was still represented by external parental power.

However, through this temporary regression he gains one advantage which the individual psychotic does not have. The submergence of his ego into the group enables him to overcome his actual infantile impotence toward reality; he attains instinct freedom with the power of an adult. *This circumstance allows him, by way of a mass psychosis, to return to reality, from which the individual psychotic must flee.*

LeBon, without knowing what the unconscious is, has correctly seen and described its manifestation in the mental condition of the mass. He states:

“The mass finds itself in the situation of a sleeper, whose capacity to think is suspended, so that in his mind images of great intensity appear. In the mass it is not what is real that counts. Only the unreal matters. The crowd is incapable of distinguishing subjectivity from objectivity. The crowd can think only in pictures and one picture precipitates a series of other pictures without logical connection. The crowd is incapable of postponing action impulses, because it is unable to think between impulse and action.”

What LeBon describes is nothing more than the fact that the crowd man thinks and acts completely under the spell of the primary processes in the unconscious, instead of responding to the categories of logic, ethics, and esthetics which govern our conscious mind. The conscious mind of the individual crowd member is under the domination of

the processes of condensation and displacement, which are operative in forming visual images perceived normally in dreams and pathologically in hallucinations.

LeBon could not answer the questions: What actually are the psychological ties between the individual members of the mass, why is it that they feel as *one* and all think and want the same thing? His hint at a special "infectiousness" of insanity does not tell us much, and we are even less inclined to follow his argument when he considers as proof of his assumption of the contagious character of psychosis, that people who deal professionally with psychotics become insane themselves or, as he phrased it, that we find so much insanity "among psychiatrists".

To Freud we owe our understanding of the psychological process which results in the unification of the group, manifesting itself in the merging of ideas and action impulses. It is a process of identification growing out of mutual, latent homosexual ties between the individual group members.

LeBon did not realize that he was describing the phenomenon of a *pathological group formation*. I would call a group formation normal, if the aim behind the tendency to form a powerful collective ego, superseding the weakness of the individual ego, is to sublimate aggressive instinct energies for a higher common and conscious, constructive purpose; and I would call a group formation *pathological* when it arises out of the need to endow the powerless individual with the capacity of *discharging* unsublimated and *unrestricted destructive instinct energies as an aim in itself*, a need resulting from a threat to the ego's instinct of self-preservation.

The "crowd-mind" which LeBon describes is not the manifestation of a normal but of a pathological group formation. With this restriction in mind, I fully agree

with him when he states: "A mass, under the condition of *hemmed-in* actions, finds itself on the verge of a rage".

From Freud we have learned that there is a second factor which cements the individual egos of the group members into one collective ego. This factor is the existence of the group leader, and the acceptance of this leader by the egos of the group members, as their external parental representative, replacing their individual inner superego. In his capacity of a collective superego, the leader is able to weld the mass into one group ego which unleashes or restrains affectual instinct discharges in conformity with his will. The leader secures the allegiance of his followers by providing them with an external goal for their pent-up aggression.

Summarizing the parallelisms between a collective psychosis and an individual psychosis, we can say: The mass and the psychotic think and act irrationally, because of regressively disintegrated ego systems. In the individual psychotic mind, the process of regression is of a primary nature and is constant. In the collective psychotic mind regression is secondary and occurs only temporarily. The reason for this is that in the individual psychotic, the ego breaks with reality because of its pathological weakness, whereas *in the mass member, reality breaks first with the ego*. This ego, by submerging itself into a pathological mass, saves itself from individual regression by regressing collectively. *Flight into a mass psychosis is therefore an escape not only from reality, but also from individual insanity.*

This insight gives us our answer to the enigmatic question why apparently normal individuals can react like psychotics under the spell of mass formation. *Their ego is immature* as a result of superego weakness. The immature individual who, under the stress of environmental circumstances, is on the verge of losing contact with reality,

can find his way back to it when his ego, carried by the spirit of the group, finds opportunity for the discharge of pent-up aggressive instinct energies into the object world.

The anti-Semitic crowd man, for the first time in his life, succeeds in finding a temporary solution of his latent ambivalence conflict with the parent. Through participation in the collective ego of the crowd, he can split in two the re-externalized parental power: into the leader whom he loves and into the Jew whom he hates.

Freud demonstrated that the mental energies from which we build the intrapsychic power of our superego stem chiefly from the introversion of suppressed aggressive energies, specifically those which we were forced to deflect from our parents. The ego allows these introverted aggressions "to be made over to the superego"; in submitting to this inner parent, it perceives its aggressions as "pangs of conscience", as feelings of guilt. In the process of re-extroverting his superego, the anti-Semite gets the opportunity to redistribute his aggressive instinct energies. The logical and psychological deduction from these premises is, then, that in choosing the Jew as the object of his hatred, his ego takes upon itself the privilege of attacking this superego, to punish it, instead of being punished by it. It will therefore not evoke surprise if we assert that the Jew, as the object of anti-Semitism, represents the bad conscience of Christian civilization.

This interpretation offers an approach to an understanding of the *psychology of false accusation*. Accusing someone else instead of ourselves relieves us of subjective guilt feeling and is a mental defense mechanism against recognizing our own guilt. This is typical of the process of projection, the defense mechanism so essential to the psychotic in his effort to deny reality. To discuss in detail the significance of my concept of the re-extroversion of the superego in the defense process of projection would be

beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to state that the specific mental process just described brings about a redistribution of aggressive energies. In this way the anti-Semite projects onto the Jew the aggressions diverted from his own ego, thereby sparing himself the perception of guilt.

Massacres of the Jews have always been preceded by a rabble-rousing period during which the Jew is accused of the very crimes the anti-Semite is about to commit. Before the crowd man indulges in robbing the Jews, destroying their religious symbols, mutilating their bodies, and raping their women, he accuses them of these atrocities.

We might call false accusations "rationalizations" of aggressive instinctual drives. But what is the psychological process behind such rationalizations? The period of accusation, i.e., of defamation and calumny, is the *first* phase of the cycle that is completed with the release of biting aggressions and devouring destruction. Destroying the reputation of our fellow-men, defaming them as unworthy to participate in our culture, is the routine urbane, refined substitute for actually devouring them. I consider it no mere coincidence that the vehicle of speech, employed to defame a person, is the same organ used in eating. In both instances, the muscular executors participating in the act of aggression are the mouth and teeth. In the German vernacular, we say of a person who defames another that he "rips him apart with his teeth."* In colloquial English, an expression for defaming is "back-biting".

It is therefore not surprising that the individual anti-Semite is little concerned with the content of his accusations and his calumniations, so long as they serve his need to discharge aggressions. Furthermore, the anti-Semite be-

* In German Jemanden durch die Zähne zehen

lieves in his false accusations against the Jews not in spite of, but *because* of their irrationality. For the ideational content of these accusations is a product of the primary process in his own unconscious and is conveyed to his conscious mind through the mediation of the mass-leader's suggestions. As I have pointed out, the mass-leader represents the *beloved* parent, in whom the child needs to believe for the sake of his own security.

As though he were anticipating Hitler, LeBon describes the leader as follows: "The nimbus of the leader is sustained only if what he says is *unreal*, incomprehensible and beyond discussion. The mass can believe in what he says only, when his speech appeals merely to beliefs and not to approval by argumentation".

Accepting a calumny from someone and passing it on to others signifies participation in a *verbal pogrom*. The circumstance which turns a pogrom of words into a pogrom of action depends on the actual power ratio. In situations where the anti-Semite is of the crowd he will always turn from ideational aggressions to physical aggressions because, in active cooperation with the mass, the majority, he achieves superior brachial power over the Jew as a minority. The anti-Semite thus becomes the parent and the Jew the child upon whom he can vent the aggressions originally intended for his parent.

The ideational content of an irrational accusation is what we designate as a *delusion of persecution*. In this paper I must refrain from a detailed discussion of the genesis and mental economic function of a delusion and restrict myself to a few brief statements. The normal counterpart of a delusion is the delusional hallucination in our dream life. Freud assumed that the hyperactivity of our irrational fantasy life in dreams is precipitated by biological blocking of outer-motor discharges arising from the physiological condition of sleep. Since we feel secure from

acting out our forbidden impulses, we indulge in dreaming them as if they were real. In the delusion of the psychotic, the mental system seems to modify this process. The over-stimulated fantasy releases the blocking of outer-motor centers, and the delusional misinterpretation of reality provides a means of discharging formerly inhibited instinct energies into the outside world. As has been indicated earlier, the individual psychotic as well as the mass psychotic returns to the external world of objects with the help of his delusion.

We learned from Freud that in the imaginary world of the psychotic, the delusion is found like a patch "on that spot where originally there was a tear in the relation between the ego and its outer reality". My theory supplements this formulation by the assumption that the tear has a twofold onset; an actual break with present reality and a primary break in the past when "reality" was conceived of only through the medium of the parent. At that time the child failed on the one hand, to mentally internalize the parental power and felt impelled, on the other, to withdraw his instinctual cathexis from the parental object because of the dangerous aggressive-destructive nature of this cathexis.

The specific paranoid delusion of persecution reflects quite clearly this shift from an inner ego-superego conflict to an outer ego-object conflict. The paranoid's attitude toward his persecutor vacillates between fear and flight on the one hand, and rebellion and attack on the other. His fear of the persecutor replaces his former guilt feeling and substitutes aggression for guilt. This is the delusional situation of the anti-Semite who must persecute the Jew because he imagines himself persecuted by the Jew.¹

Undoubtedly objection will arise that there are many individuals who believe in the wickedness of the Jews,

without joining the anti-Semitic mass movement. My answer is that these individuals are *intellectually* engaged in anti-Semitism as a mass movement. The anti-Semitic *idea* is a substitute for the leader. The leader's spoken word is replaced by propaganda conveyed through newspapers and leaflets. This propaganda is instrumental in bringing the anti-Semite's conscious ego under the influence of his irrational unconscious. It is characteristic of these intellectual anti-Semites that their delusion is effective only as a mass delusion and cannot be maintained individually under the test of reality. It is for this reason that the most passionate intellectual anti-Semite can sincerely assure you that despite hating the Jews collectively, "some of his best friends are Jews".

One statement, made by Freud, is somewhat embarrassing; namely, his assertion that the psychotic's firm belief in his delusion is in some measure traceable to the fact that basically it must rest upon some psychological truth. Can it be basically true that the Jews, without knowing it, are the wicked characters the anti-Semite believes them to be? What is the psychological truth?

The answer to this perplexing question must be sought in an investigation of the historical development of the anti-Semitic complex. If the psychological truth of the anti-Semitic delusion cannot be found in present-day conditions, we may find the clue by studying anti-Semitism as an historical movement which "passed over mankind" along with the process of civilization. The psychological approach to this problem would be to strip the anti-Semitic accusations of their temporary rationalizations and to investigate what is specific and timeless in them.

Throughout the centuries certain *specific* accusations have persisted: first, the accusation that the Jews killed Christ; and second, the so-called blood accusations. For these alleged crimes Jews have died by the thousands. The

second category includes the crime of piercing the holy wafers in churches so that they bleed, and the crime of the ritual murder at Easter; the Jews steal Christian children and slaughter them in order to use their blood for their ceremonial feasts.*

That these accusations are irrational is beyond discussion. If we accept it as an historical fact that some Jews killed Christ at the beginning of the Christian era, it still remains irrational to wish to punish the Jews of today for a crime committed by other Jews two-thousand years ago. Looking for the psychological truth in this accusation, we as psychoanalysts must infer that it as well as the other accusations have a symbolical significance, i.e., they stand for something else.

Let us try to formulate a psychoanalytic interpretation of the irrational attitude of the anti-Semite who believes that the Jew of today must be punished by death for the crucifixion of Christ. The implication is that the Jews of today have committed an identical crime. What is the identical crime? It is the denial of Christ. I have come to this conclusion from the fact that in the Middle Ages a Jew who was condemned to be burned at the stake could save his life by confessing, "I accept Christ". The denial of Christ must have been conceived of as a repetition of his murder, tantamount to a denial of his resurrection.

Remembering our previous interpretation of accusation as a guilt projection, we suspect that the Jew-hating Christians accused the Jews of a crime which they themselves

* I consider these accusations against the Jews as specific manifestations of the unconscious anti-Semitic complex for four reasons:

1. All three manifest the direct relationship between hatred of the Jew and the Christian creed.
2. They manifest no reference to any realistic contemporary situation.
3. They reflect clearly the delusion of the Jew as persecutor.
4. These denunciations have always been of such a nature that they are able to unleash crowd violence.

had committed. In accusing the Jew of piercing the holy wafer and making it bleed, the anti-Semitic Christians simply demonstrate that to them the wafer signifies the actual body of Christ. That it can bleed when a Jew pierces it proves that for the anti-Semite the holy wafer has not become an allegoric symbol, but has remained a symbol of the fact that Christ still lives. Thus the anti-Semite accuses the Jew of repeating the primordial crime of parricide before his very eyes: he accuses the Jew of the crime which he himself unconsciously commits when he eats the holy wafer. It is an act of incorporating which provides him with a discharge of his devouring tendency of hate and subsequently enables him to identify himself mentally with Christ in love.†

Behind the ceremony of the holy communion, the anti-Semite struggles to keep his actual devouring tendencies repressed. However, the very fact of the Jew's existence prevents his doing so. The belief in the bleeding of the holy wafer expresses his own unconscious wish of desecration and signalizes the return of the repressed. Herein lies the explanation of why the Jew must die: through the mechanisms of displacement and projection, the guilt of the anti-Semite is transferred to the Jew.

But where do we find the psychological truth in the anti-Semitic accusation that the Jews kill Christ again and again? To uncover this truth, we must investigate the third accusation, that of the ritual murder: The Jews steal small Gentile children at Easter and slaughter them, because the Jewish religion prescribes the consumption of Christian blood at the Passover ritual meals.

The essence of this accusation is that the Jews incorporate Christian blood according to ritual in celebrating Passover. We are immediately struck by the similarity of this alleged Jewish crime to the Christian ritual of holy communion. The anti-Semite again accuses the Jew of

actually doing that which he himself does symbolically. However, to arrive at the psychological truth in the specific accusation we must first clarify why the bodies of Christian children, allegedly used for the Jews' ritual meal, represent Christ himself in the unconscious of the anti-Semite. It is, of course, not by chance that the Jews are accused of this "crime" in connection with the Passover celebration which, as is well known, occurs at the same time the Christians celebrate Easter, the resurrection of Christ.

Is there any justification for the anti-Semite's interpretation of the Jewish Pesach ceremony as a ritually prescribed murder? A psychoanalytic understanding of the psychological truth can be arrived at by employing Freud's method of examining the history of a myth, i.e., by studying the changes and distortions to which this product of human fantasy has been subjected in the course of time.

In the Passover festival, Jews commemorate their rescue from slavery in Egypt; specifically, they renew the memory of the way in which they were rescued. The Hebrew word "Pesach" is correctly translated "Passover" and refers to the visitation of the Angel of Death, who was to pass by or "pass over" the houses of the Jews. Sent by God to kill all the new-born infants of the Egyptians, this angel was not to kill any Jewish infants. How could he avoid making a mistake and not kill Jewish babies as well as Egyptian babies?

Anticipating this possibility, the Lord ordered the Jews to slaughter lambs, and with the lamb's blood to make red signs on their door-posts. The angel respected these signs and "passed over" the Jewish houses. In this way the Jews saved the lives of their children, i.e., of the succeeding generation and preserved Jewry for all time. In other words, what the Jews celebrate at Passover is their survival through sacrifice, i.e., the "pogrom" of innocent lambs.

It belongs to the ritual meal to display on a dish several things, to serve as a reminder of the sorrows the Jews have suffered when they were expelled from Egypt. On this dish is a roasted lamb bone, a vestigial reminder of the lambs sacrificed that the Jews might survive, and which was prescribed as the essential meat to be eaten in Canaan to celebrate their survival. Both historically and psychologically, it is correct to interpret the ritual eating of lamb as a repetition of the wholesale slaughter of these animals in Egypt. Thus do the Jews devour "children" during their ritual meal of the Passover, but it is the *children of animals* that they eat. And today they still adhere to this "crime" in a symbolical manner. Here we have in part the psychological truth of the anti-Semite's accusation.*

The psychological truth would be complete if we could equate the Passover lamb with Christ. Significant information on this point is to be found in the volumes published in 1748 by Bodenschatz, a very scholarly professor of Christian theology, who made a lifetime study of Jewish religious rites. Two facts which this biblicist describes are of psychoanalytic importance. First, the Jews celebrated Passover for the first time in Egypt, immediately before they migrated; and second, after successfully completing their migration through the desert, they observed the heathen custom of sacrificing animals in their Passover celebration.

When the Jews celebrated their first Passover *in Egypt*, they aroused the special animosity of the Egyptians, because, by their mass slaughter of lambs, they committed a *national religious crime*. The lamb was the young of the ram, which was sacred to the Egyptians, belonging to the

* Anton Louricé (Los Angeles) who read my article, commented that the ritual of the lamb bone at the Passover meal supports my theory, but at the same time signifies an attempt to keep repressed the former aggressive-destructive tendencies.

family of their totem animals. The quintessence of the Passover festival, after the safe migration through the desert, consisted of a collective slaughtering and mass eating of lamb. The blood and entrails of these hundreds of lambs were collected by priests and poured out onto the altar, to be burned in honor of God. According to divine command, nothing was to be left over from the bodies of these lambs. In addition to the blood and entrails of the lambs, other animals were to be burned in toto; among them was always one ram, as if to remind the Jews that they were eating the totem animal of the Egyptians. The Jews devoured the strange "god" in order to please their own. The original manner of conducting the ceremony leaves no doubt about the significance of the collective destruction of lambs by way of incorporation, as the prerequisite for complete submissiveness to the Hebrew God.

During the mass pouring out of blood, the Jews were enjoined to sing the great Hallelujah (Psalms 115-128), which contains a solemn avowal of God as the almighty power ever to control and direct their thinking and acting. The ceremony is at the same time an expression of gratitude to God; in the words of the Psalm of David (124): He rescued the Jews "from the teeth of their enemy" who would otherwise, in their hatred, have "devoured the Jews alive".

Let us examine the significance of the lamb slaughtered and eaten collectively by the Jews in Canaan and eaten by them at the present time symbolically to celebrate Passover. Jesus Christ, too, is represented symbolically by the lamb,—*the scape-lamb of innocence*, bearer of mankind's universal guilt. Bodenschatz leaves no doubt that the lamb which the Jews eat solemnly at Passover is identical with the lamb symbolizing Jesus Christ. He came to this conclusion as the result of a thorough scientific, theological investigation of God's specific command that the Jews

were not to boil the lamb, but must *roast* it for the ceremonial meal. After having examined the entire literature on the subject he rejected the various justifications as rationalizations, and summed up his conclusions: God "saw in this lamb Jesus Christ"; for this reason "the Jews shall roast the lamb".* In His omniscience He anticipated that Christ would be "roasted at the cross by the fire of wrath of the heavenly Father and by His fire of love for the entire human race". We see that Bodenschatz identifies the crucifixion of Christ with the roasting of the lamb. No one could more adequately interpret the act of collective devouring as an attempt of mankind to solve its ambivalence conflict, to amalgamate its burning passions of "wrath" and love—i.e., of hate and love.

The psychological truth is complete. In eating lamb at Passover, the Jews repeated their primary crime of consuming the totem animal god of the country in which they had lived. Originally the lamb had been part of the animal group sacred to the Egyptians; later it became the symbol of Christ. The unconscious of the anti-Semite has transformed the ritual of eating lamb at Passover into its symbolical equivalent: the devouring of the "lamb Jesus", the child of God. When the anti-Semite accuses the Jews of consuming the blood of Christian children at Passover, he unconsciously identifies these children with the resurrected Christ.

The anti-Semite accuses the Jew of physically incorpo-

* Bodenschatz quotes, e.g., an author stating that "sometimes the Jews pushed a wooden spear vertically through the body of the lamb and another one across through both its shoulders. To the latter they tied both forelegs of the lamb. So, as it were, the lamb was crucified when through a hole in the oven it was lowered down to be roasted on a layer of burning coals"—I became convinced that the Divine Command that the lamb be *roasted* to be eaten, and "not cooked in water," demonstrates the psychological continuance of the animal sacrifice in the Passover meal. For in animal sacrifices, the victim was burned on an open fire

rating Christ, to avoid experiencing guilt for the commission of this very sin. Modern civilization, the collective character, requires the individual character to dissolve hate as well as other destructive devouring tendencies *in the mental act of identification*.

All religions, as agents of the civilizing process which "passes over mankind", have tried to fulfill their function by providing symbolical gratification for the human instinct of devouring. Apparently this substitute outlet has enabled mankind to submit to an intrapsychic agent of instinct control.

The specific contribution which the Jewish religion has made to the process of civilizing mankind seems to have entailed a specific collective mental trauma. By abolishing animal sacrifices, the Jewish religion gave up the last remnants of the totem feasts of the primitives, thus depriving the Jews (and eventually mankind) of periodical outlets for their pent-up destructive energies. The Jews allowed themselves a period of transition in their sacrifices and in their inventions of the scapegoat (and its substitute, the lamb) but eventually they demand submission not to a personal God, but to the law of God. As Freud put it, the Jews, by declaring God invisible, gave the initial stimulus toward spirituality in religion. Stated differently we would say: By becoming invisible, God was transformed from a material parental image to a spiritual collective superego. This was the great contribution of the Jews to mankind at the threshold of civilization; but it was also their crime, for they demanded greater mental sacrifice than the human race can afford.

Christianity reintroduced, as it were, the primeval totem feasts in a *symbolical* manner. The Jew did not take part in these collective feasts; he expressed disapproval of the devouring instinct by placing the taboo of "unkosher" (unclean) on Christian food.

The average Christian of modern times has attained his own spirituality by participating in the holy communion as an act of purely allegoric value—a symbolic internalization of the commandment of Christ, representing the inner voice of conscience, which he must obey in order to remain acceptable to civilization.

The anti-Semitic Christian is still in need of reincarnating the primeval totem animal. He must find it on earth in order to vent on it his pent-up destructive aggressions. Because of this he has created the Jew in the form of the Devil, the god of hate co-existent with the god of love. The Jew must take over the role of the innocent lamb, carrying the load of hate which up to now has not been absorbed in the process of Christian civilization. The anti-Semite who tortures and kills the Jew actually re-enacts the crucifixion of his Savior.

Anti-Semitism is one indication that our collective as well as our individual character development has failed to wholly civilize mankind. Man is civilized only if he has achieved *mental* identification based on superego formation, through the introversion of aggressive devouring instinct energies.

After this lengthy excursion into the historical psychogenesis of the anti-Semitic delusion, some comments must be made about the "psychological truth"* behind the *anti-Semitic delusion of today*. This delusion, embodied in Hitler, is nothing but a modern variation of the blood accusation. Hitler again and again exhorted his followers to

* (cf Brunswik-Sanford p. 121f) It will be seen that a psychological truth can be identical with a sociological truth. Brunswik-Sanford found that "Anti-Semitism helps individuals to maintain their identification with the middle-class and thus to ward off anxiety"—due to insecurity. Hitler's assertion that the Jew has the double and contradictory character of capitalist and communist can be accepted psychologically by the middle class individual because sociologically his class is threatened simultaneously by capitalism and communism

preserve the purity of the Aryan blood and to protect it against the Jew who seeks to bastardize it by impregnating Aryan girls. He further expressed himself: "The Aryan people, related in blood and culture, who have hitherto been tearing each other to pieces, must understand that it is the Jew who is the enemy of mankind and the real originator of all suffering".

The psychological truth of Hitler's belief in an Aryan race, united by blood, reflects his unconscious perception that it is untamed basic human hatred which drives people to devour one another, and in this way to become united "in blood" by incorporation. But hate must be directed toward a collective object outside the "race", in order to give people the opportunity to unite in love, that is to remain alive in spite of unification. For this reason, his message was a relief to the human instinct of destruction, when he re-instituted the totem animal by designating the Jew as "the enemy of mankind". The Hitler blood accusations against the Jew,—that he wants to defile Aryan blood by penetration—is nothing but the well-known projection of denying one's own devouring tendencies by accusing the Jew. In different form, it is a repetition of the accusation of the desecration of the holy wafer: the Jew causes the bleeding of the wafer which, to the anti-Semite, signifies the actual body of Christ.

Paradoxically, however, the Aryans must also defend themselves against the psychological consequence of devouring the Jew, i.e., *of becoming one with the Jew*. If they were to succeed completely, there would be no Jews left as objects of devouring aggression, and then the Aryan people would again have to revert to destroying one another.

Hitler, with the sensitive perception of a schizophrenic for his own unconscious, as well as for the unconscious of his followers, perceived the progressive assimilation of the

Jews in their respective nations as a danger to the instinctive peace of the world. Assimilation of the Jews, identical with totally devouring them, would have the same effect and would deprive the anti-Semite of his object,—which he needs so badly. It is therefore only psychological that Hitler brands as a Jew any opponent of his whom he wishes his followers to destroy. Only in this way can he tap the source of primordial hatred and use Jew hatred as ammunition against the English, the Russians and the Americans.

The future modern political application of anti-Semitism inheres in this possibility of displacing the significance of the Jew to the significance of *the enemy absolute*, and in the possibility of condensing in the Jew the image of the international, as well as of the intra-national enemy. The anti-Semitic complex in man can be used over and over by the mind engineers (propagandists) of dictator regimes to serve two ends at the same time: first, to manipulate the “crowd mind” within their country in order to whip up collective national hatred; and second, to disintegrate the collective spirit of the enemy nation. The increase of anti-Semitism, which we observe today in all countries, is certainly due to the need of nations for a new channel for the collective discharge of hate, now that there is observable a diminution of the “national hatred” which heretofore incited nation against nation. The world of today requires a scape-enemy to serve as the enemy of all mankind, an “extra” national enemy.

Modern methods of communication have caused the world to shrink. Radio and airplane bring the peoples of the world in close contact. National borders lose their spiritual significance because nations become genuinely familiar with each other. The current wave of hyper-nationalism and hyper-racism is the last flare-up of an illusion which the crowd-man needs. He is panicky because

he feels that with the increasing industrialization of our civilization his ego is doomed to perish. He needs a collective entity more powerful than his individual ego, through identification with which he can experience the rebirth of his ego, can once again become powerful and capable of discharging hatred by destroying weaker groups, weaker races or weaker nations.

This paper has attempted to throw some light on anti-Semitism as a phenomenon of mass psychopathology arising from human hatred. The conception that the devouring tendency in man is the instinctual source of hatred offers an approach for the better understanding of the pathology of human hatred as a by-product of civilization. Anti-Semitism is one manifestation of this human devouring instinct.

Anyone who doubts that this devouring instinct manifests itself in anti-Semitism can dispel this doubt by simply listening to our every-day language. Language communicates not only our conscious thoughts but also reveals latent ideas. The German colloquial expression for anti-Semitism is "Juden-fresser"; in English it is "Jew-baiter". According to Webster, "baiting" is defined: "to set on (e.g., a dog or someone) and worry (him) by biting and tearing". The eminent historian, Graetz, states, in his three volume study of the Jewish people: "The history of the Jews is the history of their persecution". And he concludes: "If we are inclined to believe the accusations of the Jew-baiters, we would have to assume that Jewry represents a universal power which threatens to *devour* Christianity—skin, hair and all".

Every theoretical investigation of anti-Semitism contains an inherent challenge: does the specific theoretical premise contribute anything to the practical solution of

the problem? As far as my contribution is concerned, this implies: can we help counteract anti-Semitism by viewing it as a problem of mass psychopathology? Thinking in these terms, I am aware that the mental mechanisms operative are not specific for anti-Semitism alone. The same mechanisms are to be found in any pathological group formation precipitated by the need of individuals to associate for the dual purpose of finding a common escape from reality and of attaining a collective discharge of aggressive energies. I refer to the pathological group formations that are responsible for race riots or lynchings. Anti-Semitism differs from these *temporary* manifestations of the "crowd mind" in two ways: first, in its chronic character, the result of its reciprocal relationship to the process of civilization, and second, in its specific delusions.

The assumption is therefore justified that the means employed to counteract anti-Semitism may enable us to counteract crowd-mindedness in general. The aim of all such measures is to influence individual character formation as well as collective character formation (civilization), in order to immunize both against regressions to infantile and pre-historic stages of development. In approaching this gigantic task, the psychiatrist can only offer suggestions. It remains for sociologists and, more particularly, for statesmen to include concepts of psychoanalytic dynamic group psychology in their deliberations on the reconstruction of the post-war world.

I am fully cognizant of the limitations of a mere psychological approach to the problem of combating anti-Semitism. The feeling of panic which transforms adults into helpless children and induces them to take refuge in mass existence is very often brought about by economic crises with ensuing mass unemployment and mass pauperization. We cannot expect to prevent economic crises through psychology. However, we might be able to counteract panic—

the emotional reaction to crises—by so influencing the character formation of the common man that he acquires a superego adequately equipped for reality testing. That capacity would help the individual to remain mature even under the stress of economic crises.

Such a perspective calls for a double program: a *long-range* one to influence the educational processes of the individual as well as of society; and a *short-range* program to counteract the present alarming increase of anti-Semitism.

The primary aim of the *long-range program for combating crowd-mindedness* must be to help our children acquire a lasting, reliable, strong superego. The student of today should not only learn history and the natural sciences, mathematics, chemistry, physiology; he should also be enlightened about the human mind—about the process of maturation within himself, psychological as well as physiological. Courses in social living should be given to upper classmen in high school, where they would learn the *psychological* facts of life, that *both* hatred and love are *normal* emotions; and that hatred is the instinctual power that creates the need for destruction. They should be guided in re-directing destructive tendencies into constructive channels. This educational task must eventually be incorporated into the elementary school, the nursery school, and the family—with particular emphasis on the influence of the mother, *since the basic preparation for superego development occurs during the first five years of life.*

And yet, how can nations expect their citizens to become mature and to remain mature if the nations themselves do not establish standards of maturity for collective behavior? The standards of the collective character of civilization need to be brought up to the character level of the individual. “Civilized” nations still sanction war and other collective character regression, but forbid similar outlets

to the individual character. With the cessation of war, the "collective superego" hypocritically acts as if nothing had happened and abandons individual superegos to struggle, often in vain, against re-awakened infantile instinct drives.

We know that peace can neither be established nor maintained by psychology alone. Conflicting economic interests bring about changes in the sociological structure, both national and international, and precipitate explosions of violence between competing nations. But the emotional ammunition with which wars are fought is secured from the arsenal of pent-up destructive energies in the nationals of every country who seize upon any rationalization in order to break forth against another group—another nation.

Therefore a major task of our long-range program is to diminish the quantity of pent-up destructive energies in the minds of individuals in a nation. If we can make headway in this direction, we shall be able to dispose of the emotional arsenal underlying group hatred and group tendencies for destruction. *The endeavor to abolish anti-Semitism must aim at the root of all group aggressive outbursts*, with the ultimate goal of eliminating "crowd-mindedness" and developing group consciousness.

How does such a principle apply to that group which is basic for society in peace as well as in war—the industrial army? The original social import of work, that of furnishing the individual with a means for sublimating anti-social strivings, by employing destructive energies for constructive purposes, has vanished with the dominance of the machine. This significance must be revived, so that the worker can find a release of instinctual tension in his vocational activity and can respect the goal of the working process. To achieve this end, he must not only enjoy an adequate material return, but he must experience an adequate ideological spiritual return in the finished product. The

artisan, employed as a cabinet maker, knew what he was creating. In modern industry the simplification of processes has removed the worker so far from the end product that he neither knows nor cares about the social value of his accomplishment. The most complete alienation of a man from his achievement is, of course, work on the assembly line.

The war, particularly in industries turning out war products, actually brought about some progress in stimulating the worker's feeling about his job. The final social function of the product was demonstrated, verbally and pictorially, to the war worker. Similar expedients should be utilized in peace time, when the goal of production is not destruction, but the construction of material values for all. Every worker should have an opportunity to develop *special skills*, so that he is not condemned for life to performing a minute mechanical operation as a mere appendix to his machine.

However, not work alone, but leisure-time pursuits must afford opportunity for sublimating aggressions. In prehistoric times men, closer to their instinctual needs, sensed that they had to get rid of their destructiveness so that they might live peaceably together. They had their totem feasts at regular intervals, when they were allowed collectively to devour the taboo animal. By doing so they conquered their ambivalence, not only toward their prehistoric father and their living fathers, *but also toward one another*. Such a device for public mental hygiene is no longer available to us.

In the course of the centuries, we have lost an important instrument for mental hygiene which was a derivative of the totem feast institution. I refer to art, particularly to the theatre, the art of tragedy. The Greek tragedy clearly showed its descent from the prehistoric totem feasts. The community identified itself with the tragic hero, who com-

mitted the primordial crime and eventually succumbed to the consequences of his guilt. This identification of the audience with the tragic fate of such a hero gave the masses an opportunity to discharge their aggressions, to redeem their sins by being punished—at least in fantasy—and thereby subsequently to feel united in love with their fellowmen. The fascinating influence which Shakespearean tragedy exerted on mankind arose, to a great extent, from the instinctual need of man to hate, to be aggressive and to suffer punishment by way of fantasy identification.

Great drama gives individuals throughout a nation or throughout the world the opportunity to share in common fantasy the tragic hero's fate. The entire community participates in the hero's deeds; in his crime, in his ascent, and in his downfall—his tragic death. In watching the performance of a drama the audience, through identification with the hero in his guilt feeling, is enabled to reintrovert aggressive-destructive instinct energies and consequently to augment the strength of the superego, the conscience.

The modern theatre has lost the significance of being an emotional purge for the masses. Some creative minds have been aware of this loss and tried to re-establish a theatre for the people. Max Reinhardt transformed a circus into a theatre and established a "theatre for the thousands". To be effective artistically and to function in the service of mental hygiene, the theatre of today must be a "theatre for the millions"—even more, it must be a "theatre for all".

Actually we have this "theatre for all"—in the movies and the radio. But this "theatre for all" is not aware of its original function. The great tragedy, which fills an entire evening's program, has still not found its way into the movie theatre. The movie producer's intention is to offer the people what the people *like*, not taking into con-

sideration what the people *need*. The public *likes* "entertainment" and happy endings, as a means of emotional escape from reality, but people *need* the tragic ending as an emotional experience to bring them back to reality.

Mention of the Greek drama recalls the revival in modern times of an ancient Greek institution, the Olympic games. The renaissance of the Olympic games was certainly intended to shift competition between nations from military undertakings to peaceful athletic games. This attempt failed for two reasons. The first, and more important, is of course, that the economic causes of war cannot be removed by a series of athletic competitions. The other reason is that the Olympic games of modern times have lost their significance as a means of sublimating destructive aggression. Those who instituted the revival forgot that the original Olympic games were preceded by animal sacrifices and followed by great spiritual festivals, at which the songs of famous poets were sung, lectures were given, and poetry was recited. Olympia was a sacred city in Elis, erected on the spot where another city had been destroyed by war. No one was allowed to bear arms within its boundaries, for the Greeks had declared it to be in a state of eternal armistice. In short, the Greeks had the concept of starting their games with a common discharge of destructive energies and ending them in spiritual sublimation.

I am of the opinion that not only our modern international Olympic games but also our national athletic events should follow the example of the old Olympic games. I cannot help thinking that all the enthusiasm and emotional expenditure so conspicuous at football games, baseball games, wrestling matches and the like bring an inadequate return, from the standpoint of public education and mental hygiene. I consider it a pity that the ideational content of all this emotional enthusiasm should merely be that one

university team is stronger than another. Spiritual events following the games should capture this group enthusiasm and utilize it to carry the minds of the people from the spirit of competition to the spirit of cooperation. At the conclusion of such modern athletic games the vast group should have an opportunity to unite on a mental plane after having discharged their aggressions. Speeches, songs, and theatrical performances should be initiated as the culmination of such festivals. This offers a situation where anti-Semitism could be combated positively by establishing an eternal armistice between all creeds as the finale of modern Olympic games.

Now let us consider the *short-range program for defense against anti-Semitism* today with the immediate aim of making the public immune to anti-Semitic propaganda. Since anti-Semitic propaganda is most effective if it is irrational, by appealing to the unconscious of the masses, we must consider any place or situation where people are drawn into groups as the *strategic points* for counter-active propaganda.

From the standpoint of psychopathology, the Nazis provided us with two important teachings. First, they showed us the unmasked face of the destructive human instinct drives which, as LeBon phrased it, "slumber in every one of us". It has been our great mistake to call these human instinct drives inhuman. Unfortunately, they are all too human. It was this psychological isolationism which caught our civilization by surprise when the Nazis unveiled their basic barbaric brutality in a war which did not start with the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but with the slaughtering of Jews inside Germany.

The second Nazi teaching of significance for us was that the fundamental principles laid down by men like Freud and LeBon could by skillful misapplication be used, contrary to the intent of their discoverers, to create hate and

destruction. Anyone who studies the book, *German Psychological Warfare*, will be amazed at the scholarliness and the attention to minute detail with which the knowledge of dynamic psychology is employed in organizing for destruction, for clouding and disintegrating the collective and the individual human mind. For this purpose, the Nazis made intensive studies of the national character of their enemies. They had departments for trouble-seekers and trouble-makers; they had seventeen offices to find facts on which they could base their psychological warfare. For this purpose, anti-Semitism became their most handy and terrible weapon. Anti-Semitism is the psychological robot bomb of the Nazis. They fired these bombs effectively long before the war started.*

The anti-Semites in the United States are Hitler's sixth column — even after his death — directing invisible robot bombs to the strategic positions where they are most effective, i.e., where they can affect groups. There is evidence enough that anti-Semitic slogans are intentionally spread among the members of both *permanent and temporary group formations*. These slogans establish the Jew as the enemy absolute, to be made the intra- and international target for the human instinct aim of aggressive destruction.

As an example of the operation of slogans in a *permanent group*, consider the following incident: An officer, giving his men a pep talk in which he stressed their military duties, stated that they must always be on the alert, particularly against "one enemy who is present everywhere and who will do anything for a dollar". By his allusion to an anonymous, mysterious money-greedy enemy *who is everywhere*, every soldier knew he meant the Jew. The

* Valentin, in his book published before the war, stated "There is an anti-Semitic propaganda machine in Rumania and the United States, organized and paid for by the Nazis."

listeners could not counter with an intellectual argument since the Jew was not mentioned explicitly. And now, an example of the slogan at work in a *temporary group*: in a crowded bus someone looked into a newspaper and all of a sudden exclaimed: "Charlie Chaplin acquitted. Those Jews bribe right and left, and get away with everything". The other passengers promptly joined in accusations against the Jews and their allegedly formidable financial power.

One specific problem concerns *the returning soldier as a psychological group per se*. The returning veteran is particularly in danger of becoming infected with anti-Semitism. Why? Under military discipline the soldier learned to relinquish, temporarily, his inner superego power and to invest it instead in his superiors, to let them decide for him how to think, how to behave and, in particular, how and when to release his aggressions against a specific enemy. The ego which has been thus changed, under military discipline in war time, I have called the "military ego". The soldier, coming home, has to perform the difficult task of transforming this "military ego" into a civilian ego, i.e., again to take upon himself full responsibility for his feelings and actions, and to suppress and repress his aggressive, destructive tendencies. He no longer has the opportunity to release his aggressions; he *must* sublimate them. Under the stress of such a psychological situation, the soldier very often feels the need to transform his military group existence into another group existence which does *not* demand inner responsibility, repressions or sublimation of aggression. Anti-Semitic ideology and propaganda offer this opportunity and therefore must have a special appeal to the returning soldier. Hence, there is an urgent necessity to counteract anti-Semitism at the psychological strategic position of veterans' groups. Practically, this means that the organizations which dismiss

the soldiers as well as those which receive the ex-soldiers must develop a definite program to counteract anti-Semitic propaganda among the returning veterans of this war.

However, a mere appeal to reason and the pointing out of the falsehoods inherent in anti-Semitic defamation cannot effectively counteract any anti-Semitic campaign. It is of greater importance to make individuals and groups aware of their specific state of mind as well as of the vulnerability of their mental condition to exploitation by propaganda. Delegates of all organizations whose members are responsible for the welfare and education of individuals—delegates from schools, universities, churches, from the armed forces and from the veterans' organizations—should agree to work out a definite program of planned enlightenment for their groups.

In addition, it is necessary to work not only through formal educational channels, but also in those places where, and on those occasions when the Pariahs of society meet. By this I refer to the cheap locales where chronic alcoholics, addicts, and psychopathic criminals gather. These are the psychological slums which breed hate and destruction. These "slums" are definitely used as strategic positions in which to spread anti-Semitism; they need mental sanitation, just as tuberculosis and malaria must be combated by tearing down unhygienic living quarters and weeding out swamps. There is plenty of evidence that in such dimly lighted bars anti-Semitic slogans find a welcome reception in deteriorated minds which long for a goal toward which they can direct their aggressions and morbid emotions.

The dominant thought in counter-propaganda to anti-Semitism must be that it is a measure undertaken not so much for the benefit of the Jew, but for the protection of democracy—the organized modern expression of civilization. Democracy safeguards *every* individual's physical

and spiritual existence. Democracy as a normal group formation enables the individual ego to maintain its structure and integration, *in spite of belonging to a group*. For the democratic group itself, as a collective ego, retains all the characteristics of the individual ego. Here there is no irresponsible leader who holds the crowd in childlike obedience through terror. The democratic group functions like any normal individual ego in which impulses are separated from action by the process of thinking, the "experimental way of acting". The parliamentary system reflects the wishes of the group, as well as the interpolated act of thinking or talking. The President, as the chief executive of a democratic nation, does not represent a collective superego of the group members, but is rather a part of their ego. For he has no power to punish. This authority is vested in the courts of justice. In a democracy, justice represents the collective safety; it has the right to punish anyone who encroaches upon the rights of his fellowman, but itself remains amenable to punishment, by the group members, should it fail to comply with its own rules.

Therefore the member of a democratic group has no need to abandon his inner allegiance to his individual superego, his conscience, because he is always impelled to confront it with the demands of the collective ego and collective superego of the group to which he belongs.

If we look upon the international peace organization as an instrument to reconstruct not only the material values, but also the mental and spiritual values which have been destroyed by this war, then we must make one demand. Presupposing that this international peace organization has the power to punish the aggressor nation whose acts might throw the world into another war, then really to safeguard civilization in general, the definition of an aggressor nation must have wider implication. A nation should be defined as an aggressor not only if it employs violence against

weaker nations, but also if it practices injustice and violence against weaker minorities within its own borders. If the international peace conference accepts this definition and is willing and able to act accordingly, then it really can establish the elements of a world superego, a world conscience.

I should like to conclude with one very practical suggestion for counteracting anti-Semitism within our national borders, a suggestion which may appear banal but can be deduced directly from my theoretical premises. I have demonstrated that the main inducement for the weak infantile individual to flee into mass existence is that, in acting with the group, he becomes powerful, powerful enough to discharge his pent-up aggressions against a weaker minority group. The weak infantile individual tends to submerge into a group chiefly because "impunity is guaranteed to him" when he releases his aggressions through the group. A very simple way to deprive the mass of this attraction is to obviate the existence of a Jewish group—or any group—as a *minority*. This implies that the government should lend its power to the minority groups in our nation, thereby making them as powerful as their opponents. Practically, the government would enact legislation, punishing any direct manifestations of minority-hatred, such as anti-Semitism. When impunity is no longer guaranteed to the emotionally immature individual, he will feel less tempted to become "crowd-minded", for the sake of relieving himself of his destructive aggression.

In conclusion, I may say the process of civilization still "passes over mankind". This implies that we still submit to this process and all its vicissitudes passively. It is high time to use our modern psychoanalytic knowledge actively, to influence the process of civilization, of collective character formation, in a planned program of *international* mental hygiene. Only then can we hope to domesticate

the human instinct of destruction, and not merely to make the world safe for democracy, but to make democracy safe for the world. The thoroughness with which we embark on a plan to combat anti-Semitism might be considered a touchstone for the sincerity of our endeavor.

Chapter Four

ON SOME RELIGIOUS MOTIVES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Not unlike a neurotic disturbance in an individual, the social neurosis called anti-Semitism, must be based upon motivations which operate in the Jew as well as in the anti-Semite, unconscious to both and therefore irreconcilable.

The most fundamental trend in the psychology of the Jew seems to me the paternalistic spirit in social forms and in religion. The Jews created the monotheistic religion which became the foundation of Western civilization, the idea of God as the world father who gives commandments and prohibitions, who rewards and punishes. With this religion they created a rigid patriarchy of priests. The gods of the ancient pagan world were personifications partly of the powers of nature, partly of the human instincts (which are also powers of nature). The God of the Jews is the god of conscience who demands control of the instincts. He is the deification of the superego. The Jews felt close to the Father of the world, were his "chosen children", and developed an over-bearing attitude toward their pagan neighbors in whose mythologies, with the predominance of female deities, the maternal character prevailed. The god of conscience stood against the gods of nature, the paternal principle against the maternal one.

Adherence to the paternalistic spirit in religion and culture seems to me the nucleus of Jewish mentality. It is the manifestation of a strong superego. On its soil there grows a specific disposition to anxiety and to depressive and masochistic trends with masochistic aggressiveness which became the weapon of the weak and suppressed in the

struggle for existence. Social degradation through the centuries reinforced these trends but it did not create them. The "ecstatic submissiveness" (Brunswik) of the Jew is an expression of his superego as a trend of racial psychology (this phrase not meant as an anthropological term). It makes him the "born scapegoat". But humility in suffering is also an offense to both more primitive and more robust persons. An anecdote from the early period of Nazism tells about a Jew who was attacked by a gang of Nazis and did not even try to defend himself. Asked why they had beaten him up the aggressors answered: "His non-resistance was so provocative".

The antithesis between the paternal and the maternal principle in religion and culture is illustrated in two ways by which Jews have tended to assimilate with the Gentile population. Characteristically they tried to ally themselves with groups which were devoted to a paternalistic philosophy and social structure like their own. An example typical for many is the convert Friedrich Julius Stahl who, in the middle of the nineteenth century, became the spiritual founder and most reactionary leader of the Prussian Conservative Party which was in some respects a forerunner of the Nazi party. Under the slogan: "Authority, not Majority", he fought against parliamentarism and for the conservation of absolute monarchy. Others rebelled against the paternalistic spirit and turned to the maternal principle. The most outstanding example of this type is Spinoza. He abandoned the Jewish Father-God and creator of the world and substituted for him the concept of "Natura Naturans", the self-creating nature, the world's mother. His community banned him for that. Why was this philosophy so intolerable to his Jewish elders? It must have offended them as the advocacy of eating pork would have offended among orthodox Jews. The swine was a sacred animal of the mother deity Ishtar or Astarte, the

goddess of sexual love and fertility. The taboo of pork originally had religious, not hygienic reasons; it meant religious distinction from the worshippers of the Great Mother. Nietzsche wrote of Spinoza: "A secret glow of vengeance smouldered under his love of God. It was the Jew's hate that gnawed at the Jew's God". The development of modern natural science was profoundly in accord with Spinoza's philosophy. The fight of the churches against the theory of evolution is another illustration of the conflict between the mythologies of God-Father and Mother Nature.

Another typical exponent of this romantic form of assimilation, as we may call it in contradistinction to the authoritarian form represented by Stahl, was the composer Gustav Mahler. He was obsessed by an ecstatic longing for German romanticism with the image of Mother Mary as a central figure. His compositions are among the most romantic ones ever written. The assimilated Jew was often a magnifying mirror of those with whom he identified. The romantic type of which Spinoza and Mahler are examples was always the more accepted one. It comes closer to the emotional trends of the Gentile (at least the German Gentile).

It is well known that anti-Semitism is not as strong in Catholic countries as in countries with preponderantly Protestant population. While the Catholic religion in the cult of Mother Mary and of female saints established a grandiose reconciliation between the fatherly and motherly spirit, the Protestant denominations are closer to the paternalistic principle of the Old Testament. And here we see that it is not only the Jew's hate that gnaws at the Jew's God, it is the hate of some Christians as well, who for this reason are inclined to Nazism. The Nazis hate and fight not only Jews and Judaism, they fight Christianity

too, which to them means nothing but reformed Judaism.* The pre-Nazi Houston Stewart Chamberlain coined the phrases that "it was the Jews who brought into our gay world the ever-threatening conception of sin" and that "the Germans are still plodding behind the Ark of the Covenant as the serfs of the Jews". The neo-paganism which originated in the second half of the nineteenth century and was further developed by the Nazis, has a maternal orientation (Blood and Earth, Homeland, Nature, Race); it is romanticism. The Nazi accepts paternal authority only if it presents him with an unlimited instinctual freedom.

The problem of anti-Semitism reflects on a large scale a problem which is familiar to the psychoanalyst from his study of individual cases. It is the conflict between super-ego and instinctual drives, between the paternal and the maternal principle in emotional life, between submission to the father with renunciation of instinctual aims and rebellion against him for the sake of adherence to the mother and mother images.** The manifestation of the paternalistic spirit in the Jew, in his religion and culture as well as in his personality, is a painful reminder and a cause of discomfort to all those who could not come to terms with this conflict in themselves and could not cease hating the fatherly spirit unconsciously. Man hates in another man nothing more violently than that which he hates in himself and struggles to overcome. Goethe has expressed this in excellent words. "*Why do you complain about enemies? How could those ever become your*

* Michael, Cardinal von Faulhaber, *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum*, Munich 1933.

** Erik H Erikson has demonstrated this in the personality of Hitler and in German Culture Hitler's Imagey and German Youth, *Psychiatry*, Vol. V, No. 4, November 1942.

*friends, to whom the very essence of your being is an eternal silent reproach?"**

The very essence of the Jew's being is unconsciously felt as a silent reproach by many a Gentile. The strong superego of the Jew with its derivatives: anxiety, depression, martyrdom, and perfectionism in religious and non-religious life are a source of fear and discomfort. The God of Wrath and Vengeance of Mount Sinai still makes humans tremble, and they avenge themselves on those humans who brought the Ark of the Covenant to them and who still demonstrate its meaning in innumerable character traits. Even those Jews to whom the traditional religion has become meaningless still bear its marks in the structural depth of their personalities. The total appearance of the Jew, physical and spiritual, inspires the Gentile with a secret fear which is in tune with his own fear of the father of his childhood.

There is a type of Jew, it is contended, who arouses anti-Semitism by his sensuality and by his unbridled sexual life, which is often combined with anti-social trends. Such Jews are detested by Gentiles, especially by women who are imbued with Puritan philosophy. They do not manifestly represent a superego of Old Testament coloring. How do they fit into our theory? I think they do. Their sexuality expresses a rebellion against the paternal superego. Upon a more intimate investigation of these personalities we find an instinctual life which is cramped and compulsive and infiltrated with the superego itself. It is neither freedom nor successful rebellion, but a neurotic compromise

* Was klagst du uber Feinde?
Sollten solche je werden Freunde,
Denen das Wesen, wie du bist,
Im stillen ein ewiger Vorwurf ist?

(West-ostlicher Divan, Buch der Spruche)

with conscience, and it is seldom free from masochistic trends. It represents the very conflict between instincts and paternal prohibition in a reactivated form. These Jews, untrue to themselves and to their traditions, demonstrate this fact by contrast, and it is unconsciously felt by those who reject them. On the other hand, if such a Jew is subtle in seduction a Gentile woman may easily be won by him, which proves her own insecurity in the conflict between her sexuality and her superego. Sensuality breaking through an unsuccessful suppression raises the silent reproach as readily as asceticism does.

However, there is still another angle to the objection mentioned above. *Is this type of sensuality exclusively Jewish? It is not.* But when it appears in a Jew it is "judged", like all other so-called Jewish traits, through a veil of prejudice that stems from a hidden unconscious source. This prejudice is, in my opinion, a part of the eternal reaction to the "eternal silent reproach".

How can the psychoanalyst assist in fighting anti-Semitism? He can help spread the knowledge of human nature, so that Gentiles of good will may better see the unconscious roots of anti-Semitism. And he can help Jews to understand those traits which embody the unconscious reproach and to make them less conspicuous. However, this is easier said than done. Many Jews have conceived this intuitively, but purposeful watching would intensify the strictness of their superego. They cannot jump over their own shadows. This cultural aim may unconsciously take the place of paternal authority. It develops personalities of dignity and integrity which unfortunately do not cease to be the eternal silent reproach. We have to put our hope in developments of a far-away time.

Chapter Five

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Some degree of anti-Semitism is so prevalent in American life that it is difficult at the outset to know whether to regard it as normal or pathological. Hatred of Jews might be overt, militant, and even violent, in some cases, but with large numbers of others a less apparent type of anti-Semitism is tacitly accepted as a conventional and proper attitude. Anti-Semitism may thus be taken to range from vitriolic hatred combined with open and direct attacks on Jews, on through many types of prejudice and discrimination, to unspectacular but discernable ambivalence in persons who may nevertheless have Jewish associates and friends. The most virulent types of individual anti-Semitism are usually to be found in persons who, upon examination, would be found to have frank neuroses, character disorders, or paranoid conditions.

But what can be said of the anti-Semitism of countless thousands of persons who, from any ordinary point of view, must be regarded as normal individuals? How are we to account for the less overt type of anti-Semitism seen, for example, in the college fraternity system, in the policies of many country clubs, colleges, medical schools, and other organizations that either exclude Jews entirely or set up the quota system, and in the practices of apartment houses, summer resorts, and housing developments in which contracts involving the sale or rental of homes forbid transactions with persons "not of Caucasian race". It seems to me that a partial explanation is to be found in the *psycho-*

pathology of everyday life, a phenomenon characteristic of so many individuals that it becomes a group phenomenon. But such an explanation clearly calls for an extension of what we usually include in the psychopathology of everyday life.

Freud wrote his book *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* before the first World War; it was translated into English in 1914. At that time psychoanalysis was still, for the most part, a "depth psychology" and was preoccupied with exploring the unconscious, with discovering the operations of the id. Some years later, Freud turned his attention to the "death instinct" and to the role of aggression in psychic life. It was later, too, that Freud elucidated his ideas about ego psychology. Anna Freud dates her father's new concern with ego psychology from about 1920, his findings being expressed especially in the books *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* and *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. It remained for Anna Freud herself to crystallize much of this thinking in her book, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*.

From these later developments in psychoanalytic theory we have become accustomed to accept the tremendous importance of repressed hatred in human behavior and, at the same time, to be increasingly aware of the role of ego defenses against the anxiety associated with hatred as well as with sexuality. It is not yet clear to what extent these defenses are to be considered specific for the anxiety associated with one or the other type of forbidden impulse, but it would appear in general that various ego defenses may be called into play against various intensities of the forbidden strivings. These ego defenses, as we are all aware, include repression itself as well as sublimation, reaction formation, displacement, projection, inhibition, denial of reality, reversal of reality, identification, intellectualization, and others.

It might be interesting to ask whether some of these defenses are normal and others pathological, or which are more healthful and which less so. It is tacitly assumed that the more normal defenses, within limits, are repression, sublimation, and reaction-formation, whereas the more pathological would include denial of reality, reversal of reality, and the various dissociation phenomena that may end by overwhelming the ego entirely. But it is not so much a question of which are normal and which are not, but rather a matter of degree. Repression and inhibition, for example, are essential to any sort of community life, but too much of either may be crippling and indicative of neurosis or character disorder. The same may be said of reaction-formation and intellectualization. An excess of the latter, for example, may still be within normal limits, especially during adolescence, but it may also indicate an early schizophrenia. To start from the other end of a hypothetical scale, extreme degrees of denial, reversal, projection, and displacement are common symptoms of paranoia and schizophrenia, and yet we are forced to recognize that less extreme degrees of these same symptoms may be, as we say, "within normal limits". This brings us to the commonplace accepted by many psychiatrists that "a psychosis differs only quantitatively, not qualitatively, from the normal" and that all personalities fluctuate to and fro on a sort of sliding scale from the hypothetical normal to the more severe psychosis.

What is being suggested, then, is simply that the concept of "the psychopathology of everyday life" be extended. Our slips of the tongue, pen, or typewriter, our forgetting of names, persons, or places, and our sometimes foolish and, on the surface, unaccountable mistakes may be compared to "hit and run" commando raids out of the unconscious through the defenses of repression. In similar fashion, the occasional or even habitual use of the several ego

defenses against anxiety, defenses employed as secondary fortifications where repression, sublimation, and reaction-formation of themselves do not suffice, may still be within normal limits and form a part of the psychopathology of everyday life. This is compatible with a dynamic view of the personality, and by such a conception we would include, not only the defenses used so habitually as to form a part of the permanent personality structure, but also defenses called temporarily into play at times of special stress or in the face of special threats to the individual's security.

Approaching the problem of anti-Semitism in this fashion we are confronted with several questions: (1) In what way or ways do Jews appear to threaten non-Jews? (2) Are there intrapsychic tensions in normal persons that lend themselves to anti-Semitism? (3) By what psychological mechanisms are such threats and tensions dealt with? And (4) is there anything about Jews themselves that, so to speak, makes them especially vulnerable or favorable objects of hostility? The scope of this paper does not permit of an adequate discussion of the last point, but I refer, in passing, to the suggestions of others that there is a basic masochism and need for punishment in Jews that might provoke anti-Semitic attitudes in non-Jews who do not have the same needs or who have repressed such tendencies within themselves and therefore attack them in others.

To return to the other questions, I would suggest first that large numbers of individuals in our culture do have intrapsychic tensions, especially as the result of their none-too-well controlled hostilities, that are not adequately curbed by repression or shunted off by sublimations. The auxiliary defense mechanism of *displacement* may then be brought into play, and this displacement may result in anti-Semitism. Displacement of an affect takes place from a significant object to an indifferent object so far as the

individual's immediate psychic life is concerned, and a very common type of displacement is that from nearby objects to remote objects or persons. Thus, in our culture, we must love our parents, our siblings, and our neighbors, but we may be suspicious of and hostile toward strangers and foreigners—those who are remote or different from us. In a New England town, any stranger may be suspect. In a mid-Western village Catholics are feared and believed to have rifles hidden in the church against the day “when the Pope will take over the country”. Jews, Orientals, Negroes, the Irish, or any “foreigners” may thus in a given community become objects of suspicion and hostility. These attitudes readily become generalized because they serve the psychic needs of so many persons, and we then have such phenomena as the doctrine of “white supremacy”, fear of the “yellow peril”, and anti-Semitism. In times of crisis or under psychopathic leadership these tendencies can be manipulated or become exaggerated into lynchings, race riots, or pogroms of extermination, as in Nazi Germany. Normally, however, they remain “within normal limits” and are a part of the psychopathology of everyday life.

A similar problem arises when we have intrapsychic tensions as the result of unacceptable tendencies within ourselves, not so much affecting our attitudes toward immediate objects such as siblings or parents, but concerned with our own repressed impulses. Such tensions may be reduced through the mechanism of *projection*, by which we mean the perception of an inner psychic phenomenon as if it were external and alien to the ego. In projections of psychotic degree, the patient's inner impulses are perceived as coming from without, either with minimal or with no basis in reality for such perception. In the projections of everyday life, however, there may be considerable reality basis for the assumption of an external threat, but the psychopathology lies in a gross exaggeration of the

reality danger, or a distortion of it, or in a generalization from a few examples to a group as a whole. This, then, is not a mere shift from a near to a more distant object, as in displacement, but from subject to object with greater or less reality justification.

Such minor degrees of projection easily occur in large groups in a community when a minority group has, or appears to have, traits which the larger group is expected to inhibit or repress. Whatever population statistics may indicate, the intellectual, cultural, and political leadership of the United States is still to a considerable extent in the British and the New England tradition. Persons so reared are easily threatened by expressions of sexuality, aggression, or their derivatives that are alien to such a culture; and perhaps even more threatened are second- or third-generation children of immigrants who are trying so hard to identify themselves with the established patterns. Insofar as other minority groups with different patterns of expression and behavior come into close contact, but without real assimilation, with the traditional patterns of such Americans, the minority groups can become, not only the "whipping boys" for displaced hostilities, but also sources of projected danger; the minority group arouses, or threatens to arouse, anxiety because of what the majority in this American tradition has had to repress. Thus, because some Jews are noisy or uncouth, emotionally volatile, verbally aggressive, overly sharp in business dealings, and so on, because, in a word, *some* Jews express what the American in the Anglo-Saxon Puritan tradition has had to repress, these Jews and, by generalization *all* Jews, become dangerous; and the projected danger is exaggerated in proportion to the degree of repression of such characteristics. Margaret Mead, in her book, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* and other writings, has, for example, pointed up the conflicting attitudes toward aggressiveness in American cul-

ture; children must be seen and not heard, but they are expected to succeed and do better than their parents. They must not be pugnacious or destructive, but if provoked they must defend themselves. Even when provoked, however, the opponent must be of the same or greater strength and, if they fight, they must fight as they play games — according to the Marquis of Queensbury rules. Many of the traits that are often considered “typical Jewish” have some reality basis because of the emigrations between 1900 and 1917 from Eastern and South Eastern Europe, but these traits have been generalized and exaggerated into a concept of “Jewishness” as a symbol, and it is this symbol that threatens large numbers of Gentile Americans who have been reared to inhibit noise, quarrelsomeness, deviation from certain rules of competition, and so on, and which, still as a symbol, evokes considerable hostility toward this largely projected danger.

Let me illustrate some of these points by a few brief observations drawn from everyday life:

1. A friend of mine is a successful surgeon even in the highly competitive practice of a large city. Any psychoanalyst would note small signs of insecurity in his personality, but to anyone else he would appear normal and successful. Self-confident and aggressive, he has built up a large practice against odds and has a superficially normal and happy family life. His hostilities are near the surface and easily mobilized (as they are in many surgeons). He hates the British, the social workers, the New Deal, and the Jews with warm impartiality. It seems evident that his aggressions are inadequately repressed and incompletely sublimated in his surgery, and that they are both displaced and projected onto the objects mentioned above, partly because they are conventional objects for hatred and partly because they are considered to threaten him in the free and competitive practice of his profession.
2. Four students in my class in medical school worked in the same dissecting room. One pair of the four were often

overtly hostile toward the other pair; behind their backs they were even more so, calling them uncouth, loud, and in every way objectionable. The two students who thus came in for so much hostility were, of course, Jewish; but so were their critics! The difference was, however, that one pair were Russian-Polish Jews, and the critical pair were German-Swiss Jews. It has been said that anti-Semitism is nowhere as strong as among Jews themselves. In this instance, at any rate, it appeared that the German-Swiss Jews, second or third generation in this country, felt threatened by the uninhibited behavior and lack of polite manners in the others and wished at all cost to dissociate themselves from these "alien" personalities.

3. In my home town a popular but somewhat expansive businessman mortgaged his factory in order to purchase a very large house and two expensive automobiles. His mortgage was purchased by another businessman who was Jewish. Came the Depression, and the Jewish merchant foreclosed the mortgage, thus driving the other man out of business. Of course banks and other business interests were doing the same thing, but in this case it became, to the community, a "dirty Jewish trick". There are multiple factors in a situation like this, but it seems evident that a Jew, in this case, "took the rap" for some of the anxieties of the Depression era, perhaps, because, like the cat, it was safe and conventional to kick him.

Anti-Semitism has thus far been discussed, in this paper, predominantly in terms of the *projection* and *displacement* of repressed hostilities and their derivatives. To what extent it may also arise from repressed sexuality is not so easily seen in everyday life. These mechanisms are more easily seen in the case of the Negro who is more clearly a symbol, for many persons, of primitive sexual drives. The passionate, not to say hysterical, arguments of some Southern Whites for the principle of "white supremacy" in all spheres may thus be derived in part from projected fear. That this may also enter into anti-Semitic attitudes is suggested by an analytic patient of mine, a nineteen-year-old girl. This patient went through a phase of marked

anti-Semitism because of what she called the sensuality of Jews which she saw in the ample figures of Jewish women and the full lips of Jewish men. She was afraid of her own sexual impulses, but the picture was complicated by the fact that she was herself Jewish. Her anti-Semitism combined a rejection of her parents and of a part of herself in which sexuality and Jewishness were equated. This and similar mechanisms may also be a part of the anti-Semitism of everyday life insofar as Jews are considered more emotional, more artistic, and freer in the expression of all of the sublimated sexual derivatives which, in the unconscious, are recognized in terms of their original impulses.

It will be recognized that, in discussing the subject of anti-Semitism and the psychopathology of everyday life, I have spoken less of anti-Semitism as a unique problem and more of what might be termed the *psychology of prejudice*. Most of the same points could be made in a discussion of the attitudes of the larger community to any minority group or of one social or economic class toward another. If the Jews have been a special target of the world's hostilities it may be in part because, more than any other group, they have diffused over the entire globe and constitute a minority group in nearly every country. It may well be in part, too, because of special innate endowments and of special drives that soon bring them into competition with the dominant groups in every community and thus make them a threat. It may likewise be that certain cultural characteristics of Jews, as suggested, but not discussed above, invite hostility and thus gratify special masochistic needs. These are other aspects of the problem. My point has been simply that, with the repression of so much of our hatred, most persons still have hostilities to spare. In order to deal with this excess of hostility we call into play defenses known to us from psychopathology, but, in this instance, not often of pathological degree. It is in

this sense that the problem of anti-Semitism receives a partial explanation in terms of the psychopathology of everyday life.

The question as to how to counteract anti-Semitism as a psychological phenomenon of everyday life is difficult to answer. Since anti-Semitism is a group phenomenon in the sense that it represents the attitudes of many individuals, its "treatment" must be a type of group therapy. From a psychodynamic point of view, insofar as anti-Semitism arises from mental defense mechanisms such as projections, or displacement, of repressed sexual or hostile tendencies, it appears to be the main task of therapy to influence people not to select the Jews as objects for their projections and displacements. It is common for people to take distant, strange, or unfamiliar objects in preference to near, familiar, or friendly objects. When the unknown, feared, and hated object becomes known and familiar, it is a less suitable object for projection and displacement of repressed ego-alien tendencies, and there may then be less fear and hatred. Therapy of anti-Semitism will therefore include all measures designed to make Gentiles better acquainted with Jews, to make the latter appear less as strangers. These measures may include all means of personal association as well as education via the spoken and printed word.

Educational measures might include the use of motion pictures, magazine articles, classes in schools, colleges, and university round table discussions. Such talks, courses, and the like could include material on the history of the Jewish people, their contributions to our civilization, the dynamics of anti-Semitism and the political dangers of anti-Semitism. Personal association between Jews and Gentiles should be encouraged in schools, colleges, and universities, community agencies, social settlements, and the like. Key persons in the field of public relations, such as radio and

journalism, should take an active interest in combating anti-Semitism.

It is true that anti-Semitism is merely one of the social problems of our time. People are concerned with reconversion, the Negro problem, and a hundred others. To arouse concern and action in the matter of anti-Semitism, it will have to be made very clear, particularly to the Government, that anti-Semitism is a very serious problem in this country and that it is likely to be more so now that the war is over.

Chapter Six

THE ANTI-SEMITIC PERSONALITY¹

A Research Report

Our study² is concerned with the personality of those to whom anti-Semitic ideology appeals. What kinds of people adopt and become active carriers of anti-Semitic ideas? Why do they readily become — to use a term suggested by Ernst Kris — “scapegoat addicts”? What function, if any, has anti-Semitism in their personality structure? To approach these questions, detailed clinical study seemed necessary.

The major emphasis of the present paper is upon a number of individuals who were found to be extreme — “high” or “low” — in their readiness to accept anti-Semitic statements. Statistical data on the larger groups from which our individuals were selected will be presented as supporting evidence.³

The term personality as used here refers both to the behavior patterns and conscious convictions characteristic

¹ Some modifications have been made in this paper since its first reading at the Symposium on Anti-Semitism at the June 1944 meetings of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Society and its subsequent separate publication in the *Journal of Psychology*, 1945, Vol. 20, 271-291, under the title: Some Personality Factors in Anti-Semitism

² This study was carried out under the auspices of the Institute for Social Research and was assisted by a special grant to the University of California. It should be regarded as a part of a broader research project on social discrimination now being carried on jointly by the University of California Public Opinion Study and the Institute for Social Research under the direction of R. N. Sanford and T. W. Adorno.

³ The present writers in collaboration with T. W. Adorno and D. J. Levinson are preparing more extensive publications dealing in detail with a number of the various aspects of the personality correlates of anti-Semitism.

of a certain person and to the deeper, often unconscious, drives that motivate his behavior. Thus, in studying the personal factors in anti-Semitism it was necessary to use methods which reach different levels of personality: the social behavior and social philosophy, the conscious goals, hopes and fears, as well as the deeper and less rational layers.

The first step preparatory to the clinical studies was to administer what amounted to a test or scale on anti-Semitism⁽⁷⁾* to a group of approximately 100 university students, 76 of them women, members of an elementary course in psychology. The subjects were not asked to sign their names to the test blank. The test was introduced as a measure of public opinion without further specification. This test, a part of a broader questionnaire, was designed to measure the strength of an individual's tendency explicitly to accept or reject anti-Semitic statements and attitudes. The items include statements of common stereotypes about Jews, e.g., that Jews are personally offensive, unpleasant, and disturbing; that they are seclusive, clannish, and foreign; that they are over-assimilative, dangerous, threatening, or corrupting. There are also items suggesting that the Jews be avoided, excluded, and suppressed. Several degrees of agreement or disagreement with the statements are permitted the subject.

A high score on the scale indicates that in terms of the scale items the person in question is highly anti-Semitic on the explicit ideological level. That these high-scoring persons were likely to be actual or potential anti-Semites on the behavioral level, or anti-Semites in the deeper layer of their emotional life seemed confirmed by the interviews and other clinical data considered in the present paper. The terms "high" and "low" anti-Semite as used in this

* Numbers in brackets in this chapter refer to the bibliography, p 139

paper are defined exclusively by the responses to this explicit and direct anti-Semitism scale.

Accompanying the anti-Semitism scale was a second set of questions pertaining to public opinion, political adherence, group memberships and the like. This socio-political part of the questionnaire was designed to throw light upon the question of whether anti-Semitism is an isolated attitude or a part of a more inclusive approach to social questions.

Thirdly, the questionnaire included a larger number of "projective" items. These questions, especially designed for group studies, provided an indirect approach to the subjects' goals, fears, and identifications. Examples are: "What great people, living or dead, do you admire most?"; "If you knew you had only six months to live, but could do just as you pleased during that period, how would you spend the time?"; "What might cause a person to commit suicide?"; "If you were a parent, what things would you try to instill in your child?"; and so forth.

The subsequent steps in the research program of which this report is a part represent in essence a mutual give-and-take between the questionnaire approach on the one hand and the clinical approach on the other. Selected individuals, chiefly from those obtaining extreme scores on the anti-Semitism scale, were subjected to interviews, the Thematic Apperception Test, and the Rorschach Test. The insights or hunches gained from this more intensive acquaintance with a few extreme subjects were used in revising the three parts of the questionnaire, in establishing categories for the evaluation of the "projective" part of the questionnaire, and in devising a new section of the questionnaire.

This new part of the questionnaire was a scale composed of items pertaining to such matters as conventionality, aggression and destructiveness, attitude toward the family,

superstition, strength of the ego, and others. (A series of examples will be quoted throughout the present paper.) That factors of these kinds were connected with anti-Semitism had already been indicated by an analysis of subjects' responses in interviews, in the Thematic Apperception Test, and in the projective parts of earlier questionnaires. And these "indirect" items have in their turn, when administered to groups of subjects, furnished verification of some of the most basic tentative hypotheses developed in the course of the clinical studies.

Aside from the first group of seventy-six women, the validating procedures were based in part on the responses of a second group of 140 women, students in the Department of Public Speaking at the University of California, to whom the revised and augmented questionnaire had been given. All results reported here are to be considered contingent upon the special character of the student population represented by our sample and are further subject to the particulars involved in the case of our selected extremes.

The scattered *statistical data* referring to the verification of clinical hunches, to be found throughout this paper, are taken from an analysis of the upper and lower extreme 25 per cent — in terms of the direct anti-Semitism scale referred to above — of the various groups that had answered the older or newer form of the questionnaire. Some of the figures represent *critical ratios of the mean scores of the uppermost and lowermost quartiles* (with the number, *n*, characterizing the size of the first and the second group mentioned above, 76 and 140 respectively, added in parentheses); another type indicates the *rank of the items in the rank-order of discriminatory power of all items in the list* as based on the differences of the mean scores of the quartiles just referred to. A few *correlation coefficients* are also referred to. The shifting from one group to another is due to the fact that partly different items were given to the two groups.

The main source of the present report, however, remains

the clinical study of a relatively small group of "high extremes", "low extremes", as well as "intermediates"—in terms of the scale for overtly verbalized anti-Semitism—selected from the various groups taking the questionnaire in its various stages. The present paper is centered around the analysis of the records of twenty female college students, eight of them high, eight low, and four intermediate on the anti-Semitism scale,⁴ with the primary emphasis on the "highs". There is only brief reference to the records of men. The reason for this is the vast predominance of women in our various samples.

Several techniques were employed in studying the selected subjects. First, these subjects were asked to tell stories about a series of pictures which were presented to them in accordance with a procedure introduced by Murray⁽⁸⁾ and known as the Thematic Apperception Test. This test is widely recognized as successful in uncovering such factors as attitudes—conscious or unconscious—toward parental figures and other people and toward one's own sex role, the general approach with which one meets the difficulties of life, the content of one's day dreams, and other unconscious fantasy material. We chose six pictures from the Murray set (Nos. 3, 8, and 10 and Nos. F1, F5, and F7). In addition, we presented to our subjects four pictures designed to elicit direct reactions to racial problems. One of them represents "Jewish-looking people" in a poor district, another an older Negro woman with a young Negro boy, the third, a young couple in zoot-suits, and the fourth, a lower class man, apparently in great fear, confronted by a policeman holding a billy-club.

After the stories had been obtained, the subjects were interviewed. These interviews were aimed at the following

⁴ The subjects of the clinical studies were from the extreme ends and from a narrow region around the mean of the distribution for the anti-Semitism scale. No other consideration entered into their selection.

material: (1) Ideology, including such aspects as social and political attitudes, religious affiliations, attitudes toward one's profession, social status, money, and so forth. (2) General attitudes toward Jews and other minority groups. What spontaneous ideas and formulations on this issue could be elicited? Personal experiences with members of minority groups. We wanted to see how far the general attitude was associated with specific contact. (3) Personal data, including as much as possible of the early history, images of father and mother, goals and aspirations, the pattern of aggression, dislikes, and so forth.

In line with recent psychological insights into personality mechanisms, the interview material was not taken at its face value; but rather, an attempt was made to interpret it with attention to the different deeper meanings which might be implicit in the same overt response. In our efforts to reconstruct the personality structure, the material from the Thematic Apperception Test was of great help.

To the individuals selected from the later groups of questionnaire subjects, the Rorschach test also was given.

Aside from the clinical records consisting of interview, Thematic Apperception Test, and Rorschach, some of the responses to the "projective" and "indirect" items from the questionnaire as described above are also quoted in this paper. In this case, however, the material is not only from the small clinical sample but from persons in the entire upper and lower extreme quartiles.

We may begin the discussion of our results with a brief reference to the social outlook of the subjects in our sample as established by the social-political part of the questionnaire as well as by the interviews. Within the limits of our material, subjects with high scores on anti-Semitism were found to be characterized by two major trends. First, they exhibited a kind of conservative attitude; although they showed few signs of having developed an organized

social-political outlook, they tended automatically to support the status quo.⁵ In some instances this conservatism seems to be not a true conservatism but rather a pattern that is interwoven with tendencies toward change and even violence, that is, some of them seem to be in favor of an individualistic and arbitrary approach to public matters and they seem not to be reluctant to impose their will by force. Because of this attitude their form of conservatism was called "pseudo conservatism". Secondly, the approach of these subjects to social issues was found to be characterized generally by "ethnocentrism", that is, a tendency to hold in high esteem one's own ethnic or social group, to keep it narrow, unmixed, and pure, and to reject everything that is different. When our more recent data are considered, the correlation between anti-Semitism and rejection of other minority groups is .75 ($n = 140$). The rejections are made in the name of what is supposed to be "right" or "good".

The relationship between conservatism and ethnocentrism is, however, by no means perfect ($r = .5$, $n = 140$). But there is apparently one kind of personality structure in which certain aspects of conservatism and certain aspects of ethnocentrism satisfy the same basic personality needs. This will become clear as we turn to our main task, the discussion of one type of personality for whom the social attitudes just discussed have an especial appeal.

The typical anti-Semitic girl differs in her appearance very markedly from those who are against anti-Semitism. Most girls in our limited sample of high extremes were

⁵ Levinson and Sanford found that "Republicans have higher scores on anti-Semitism than Democrats (critical ratio, 2.81) Protestant sectarians and Catholics have higher scores than do non-religious, the non-sectarian 'Protestants', and our single Unitarian (critical ratio, 4.90), and sorority members have higher scores than do non-members (critical ratio, 4.57)".

very well groomed, their appearance being in the best middle class social tradition. This is in line with one of the findings of Levinson and Sanford⁽⁷⁾ that the higher the income of the father, the greater the proportion of anti-Semites.⁶

The surface of most of these anti-Semitic girls appeared to be composed and untroubled. They seemed to be satisfied with themselves and with their situation generally. Their behavior was conventionally decorous. There are, however, indications that there is at the same time much doubt and feeling of insecurity beneath the surface. The girls were interested mainly in social standing and in an appropriate marriage. In spite of the fact that their families often had reached a comfortable measure of social status, their aspirations seemed still unsatisfied and there was much preoccupation with "social mobility", in themselves as well as in their families. It was difficult in the interviews to get much material from them. They were sensitive to this encroachment from outside, resistant to any "prying into their affairs". Aside from a mere resistance to talk about themselves, most of them seemed ill-equipped to do so. They seemed to have little familiarity with their inner lives, but rather a generally externalized orientation.

Our selected anti-Semitic girls declared without exception that they liked their parents. Though there was little concern about political issues, they seemed to take what convictions they did have directly from their parents. This trend is supported by the finding of Levinson and Sanford⁽⁷⁾ that anti-Semitic subjects reported less ideological friction with their parents than did those who were not anti-Semitic (critical ratio, 4.2). Furthermore, that anti-Semitic girls in general tend to show, at least on the sur-

⁶ It should be added that the subjects were students in a State University, and therefore those with the highest income were still for the most part members of the middle class

face, an uncritical devotion to their parents is revealed by the statistically significant inclination of those subjects to subscribe to the statement: "No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative". Likewise, they tend to agree that: "He is indeed contemptible who does not feel an undying love, gratitude, and respect for his parents" (critical ratio 3.7 for an n of 140). Both items are from the new indirect questionnaire. A drastic example is that of a girl who lists her parents among the greatest people in history. Devotion and obedience is not only manifested toward parents, but toward authority in general. Thus our anti-Semitic subjects subscribe readily to the statement: "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn" (critical ratio 4.4, n of 140).

While aggression is not verbalized toward the in-groups, it comes into the open as far as minority groups are concerned. While they report that they had but little personal experience with Jewish people, our selected anti-Semitic girls tended to regard the Jews as aggressive, dishonest, and dirty.

On all of these points the high extremes stood in contrast to the low extremes. The latter eight girls were predominantly nondescript in appearance, less at ease socially, possessed of varied interests, quite willing to talk about themselves and their situations, and able to make critical appraisals of their parents.

When the fantasy material and the projective responses of our anti-Semitic girls are considered, we find the following major trends that are rather in contrast to what these subjects present on the surface. In view of the fact that anti-Semites seem to be particularly unaware of their underlying motives, the results of these indirect approaches seem of particular importance.

(1) In the thematic apperceptions of these subjects, *ag-*

gressive themes stand out. Not only is the preoccupation with *destruction* markedly more pronounced than in productions of the low extremes,⁷ but it appears to be relatively extreme by a more absolute standard.⁸ And more than this, as will be noted in the examples that follow, it is usually men that are the victims of the aggression and are otherwise shown in an unfavorable light.

In story No. 1, of Case 6, a murder is supposedly committed; in story No. 3, the husband has lost both legs, and the father is mentioned only to tell us that he has been killed; in story No. 4, a man is being foiled and captured; in No 5, a man has been killed; in story No. 6, the hero is being convicted and severely punished. Very similar are the stories of Case 4: in story No. 3, the father and son are both killed; in story No. 4, the man is a traitor; in story No. 5, he is sent to a concentration camp; in story No. 6, the hero is electrocuted; and in story No. 10, the hero is burned to death and the father killed in battle. Likewise, for Case 7, in story No. 5, the "boy friend" is killed in an accident; in story No. 9, a man is electrocuted; and in story No. 10, the boy "has some kind of physical handicap".

By way of contrast, in the stories of Case 1 and Case 13, both extremely low on anti-Semitism, nobody gets murdered or

⁷ Recent counts of content elements and other characteristics of the stories told as responses to the pictures, made thus far on fifteen "high" and fifteen "low" subjects, substantiated the greater frequency of murder in the stories of the highs. For most of the other trends the clinical evidence reported here has likewise been confirmed by such counts (some examples are given below)

⁸ To say that a value of a variable is "marked" or "extreme" implies of course a conception of a norm. Unfortunately, empirically established norms for fantasy material are not yet available in print and in this clinical study we are unable to make precise quantitative comparisons. However, both of the authors have had the opportunity to study several thousand stories produced by various types of people, and they have had at hand objectively derived norms for individual pictures, for both sexes and for various age groups. (These latter have been worked out at the Institute of Child Welfare at the University of California.) The authors can only say that in their opinion the frequency and intensity of aggressive themes in the stories of our anti-Semitic girls is markedly above what from their experience they have come to regard as the average.

killed. On the whole, little aggression is manifested. In story No. 5, of Case 1, for instance, the heroine only hurts the feelings of her boy friend and then she has acute remorse. In story No. 3, "the man has a very nice, sensitive face, with a tender expression".

Furthermore, in response to the questionnaire items referring to "the worst punishments and the worst crimes", the nineteen girls in the upper quartile of the first group were willing to set down significantly more cruel and varied crimes and punishments than were those extremely low on anti-Semitism. Similarly, items testing the tendency toward cynicism or a vilification of human nature, such as "familiarity breeds contempt", or references to the dominating role of destructiveness or of personal profit, are subscribed to significantly more often by anti-Semitic subjects than by non-anti-Semites.

(2) It is interesting to note that the men in the stories of the anti-Semitic girls are killed in battles and similar situations without any active participation on the part of the heroine. There is thus an emphasis on *externalized and physical causation* in the events described by these girls. They conceive of *fate* not only as threatening, but as providing care, protection, and support in critical situations. A predominantly external focus, as against an internal one, is seen throughout the reactions of the anti-Semites, e g., their social anxiety, superstition, and the like. Here again they stand in contrast to the low extremes.

Thus for the new group of 140 subjects, there is a critical ratio of 4.4 between the upper and lower quartile (in terms of the explicit anti-Semitism scale) on the item: "Although many people may scoff, it may yet be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things". Similarly, there is a significantly greater readiness to react in the affirmative to such an item as: "It is more than a remarkable coincidence that Japan had an earthquake on Pearl

Harbor Day, December 7, 1944", or to statements about the essential limitations of the natural sciences "in understanding many important things". The predominantly external focus is again seen in the reactions to the question of against what would one protect one's child. The subjects high on anti-Semitism mention significantly more often external dangers like bad people, accidents, and the like, whereas those low on anti-Semitism mention ego defects.

(3) An external fate or destiny is only one of the major forces in the world of the anti-Semites. Another is *social anxiety* as displayed primarily by a *conventional type of conscience*, one that is strict but not fully internalized. In the picture-stories of these subjects, a sharp differentiation is made between those people who are nice and have money, possessions, and power, and who possess the right attitudes and standards, on the one hand, and those who are bad, sinister, morally depraved, and live in slums, on the other. Much use is made of moralistic concepts, e.g., a boy is described as "sinful", reference is made to "a bad part of town", the zoot-suiters are bad because they allow their emotions to dominate. Breaches of this strict, moralistic code have to be severely punished, e.g., in one story a striker gets fifty years in the penitentiary. Anti-Semitic subjects seem to derive their security from subscribing to a conventional moral code. This code contains not only moralistic elements but also seems to include as its counterpart an emphasis on direct striving for social and economic success and prestige. Conformity to these external values is highly stressed.

In response to the question: "What is the most embarrassing experience?", the girls in the upper quartile mentioned significantly more often than those in the lower quartile violations of manners and conventions in public, and situations in which they were caught and consequently

suffered some blow to their prestige or narcissism. Those low on the anti-Semitism scale, however, report self-blame, feelings of inadequacy, failures in achievement and friendship, as the most embarrassing experiences. The critical ratio for this difference is 3.4 (referring to the first group of 76 girls). All through the questionnaire strict conformity to a superficial morality is manifested by the girls high on anti-Semitism. Anything which deviates from this pattern they tend to consider not only as different from themselves but as inferior, low, and immoral. (For further examples see below.)

(4) Connected with the conventional moral code is an emphasis on *religion and nationalism as a source of support that could substitute for genuine effort.*

Examples are. "One could say that this boy has been sinful. . . . He is in bed and sees Christ in his dreams. Maybe it's a vision he has. From then on he is a model boy. . .". A second girl says: "Oh, I've got it. This woman, a girl of sixteen or nineteen, has had everything she wanted all of her life. She was born with a silver spoon in her mouth. Her family faces financial difficulties. The father dies when the girl is about eight. None of her relatives are interested. One day, being alone, she visits a church and appeals to God for companionship to pull her through these things. This picture shows her appeal to God". A third girl high on anti-Semitism says, "The little boy knows he must die, for there is no way out. He is praying and is getting strength for the ordeal ahead. He will be burned to death".

Those low on the anti-Semitism scale are by no means generally irreligious but religion takes another form. It seems to be experienced on a deeper level and imbued with the character of ethics and philosophy, rather than with the utilitarian touch characteristic of the highs who generally regard religion as a means rather than an end.

In answering the question: "What is the most awe-inspiring experience?", subjects in the upper quartile mention religious and patriotic experiences more often than

do those in the lower quartile. The latter mention primarily achievement, beauty, and sensuality. The critical ratio for a total n of 76 is 3.0. Asked to list the great people they admire the most, the upper quartile names patriots, and people with power and control; whereas the lower quartile lists humanitarians, artists, and scientists. The critical ratio is again 3. It seems generally true, on the basis of the interview material, that those scoring high on the anti-Semitism scale are primarily attracted by the strong man rather than by the political program as such.

(5) The high extremes show a certain *aversion against emotionality* or at least against the expression of certain basic needs. These needs are then often projected onto others, especially certain out-groups. In the stories of the high extremes, aggression and sex often appear in infantile forms, e.g. cruelty, and not exerted by the heroine herself with whom the girls identify. As was pointed out above, aggression in these cases is not directly manifested by the heroine, but is projected into the environment, or destiny, or "lower" people such as proletarians, Jews, Mexicans, and the like. These "inferior" people are seen not only as violent, but generally as uninhibited. Uninhibited sex life is regarded as a pleasure for a low type of person.

Examples are: "It is a young girl and her boy friend. They are lower class people, and don't know any better than to do this sort of thing. I have an aversion for the things such people do. They are thinking of getting married and are looking forward to a bright future; though I don't believe such people can ever make much of themselves. I don't believe in holding hands in public". Or, to quote another high extreme: "They will get married and will be very happy. They will have lots of little zoot-suiters". A third girl extremely high on the scale tells: "I think they (young couple of zoot-suiters) will marry young but will divorce before long. They allow their emotions to get too much in their way, which is bad in earlier marriage". A fourth says: "This girl and her boy friend are zoot-suiters and I don't approve of them. She goes out to dances, and so

on. She is finally caught and brought into court". A fifth girl high on the scale says: "I could think of a low grade dance hall or something . . . the girl is the typical type of jitterbug — the kind who hangs around at the U.S.O. The couple has a nice time at the dance; that is, in that kind of way". A sixth example is: "They are not married and probably won't be . . . Well, they are more out for the fun of it. That is especially true of him. He doesn't want to be tied down". And to quote a seventh girl: "They are not really married, it's more of a common law affair. Why go through the ceremony, they said. You see, they don't change their ways very much".

These sentences express contempt and at the same time envy for the actual or imaginary lower class sexuality. An important tendency of the girls high on anti-Semitism is thus to keep one's basic impulses repressed, to keep oneself pure and reputable. Primitive needs are rendered ego-alien and projected onto an alien group. The constant repression leads to a distortion of reality, which is chiefly manifested in the projective evaluation of minority groups.⁹

Manifestations of the mechanism of repression can be observed again and again. For instance, in responding to the question: "What would you do if you had only six months to live?", the girls high on anti-Semitism never mention sensual pleasures, while the low ones frequently do. "What would drive a person nuts?" The anti-Semites say irritations from without and, very significantly, "ideas which keep running in their heads". The fear is expressed that ideas might escape control and become dangerously independent.

Sexual strivings which are kept repressed have acquired a dangerous and sadistic connotation. The fantasies of the high extremes, in contrast to their conventional surface, seem often to be more primitive and cruel. To the picture

⁹ The fact that repression is one of the important conditions for the anti-Semitic attitude is also emphasized by O Fenichel.⁽¹⁾ Several other relationships brought out in our material have been pointed out independently and in a different context in this fundamental paper by Fenichel.

representing a colored man with a policeman, one of the girls extremely high on anti-Semitism tells the following story: "This man has just been captured for a crime of strong brutality. He has a strong temper and attacked some girl. He beat her, raped her, killed her, and cut her up and threw her in the bushes. . . . He will be convicted and sentenced to a life of hard labor". In this light it is not surprising that the most discriminating item between high and low extreme quartiles on the indirect questionnaire is the following: "Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped", with the high anti-Semites showing a strong tendency to agree.

The fact that a surface of *exaggerated moral strictness* is found in girls who in their fantasies show rather extreme aggression and, furthermore, *narcissism*, suggests that the mechanism of reaction-formation¹⁰ has had an important role in their personality development. For example, heroines of stories in which men have been crippled sometimes dedicate their lives to nursing these unfortunates. The fact that kindness, self-sacrifice, and charity are extolled in the context of thinly disguised hostility leads one strongly to suspect that the former is a reaction to the latter, especially so since we have evidence that in their daily lives these girls are definitely not warmhearted. Throughout their projective material the anti-Semitic girls were so insistent about cleanliness, good manners, and honesty as to lead one to raise the question whether these expressed values also were not based upon the inhibition of tendencies of an

¹⁰ By this psychoanalytic term is meant the reversal into the opposite of an unaccepted instinctual tendency (2). For instance, hostility becomes disguised as overkindness, love for dirt as cleanliness. Exaggeration of the acquired attitude, and breaking through of the original attitude are some of the cues which make it possible to diagnose whether an attitude is genuine or the result of a reaction-formation.

opposite character as well as upon imitation of social norms, concomitant with their general conventionalism.

All the defense mechanisms described have the very important function of reducing anxiety and conscious guilt. We find very little reference to conscious guilt in the anti-Semites whereas there is a great amount of conscious self-reproach in the low ones.

(6) In the thematic apperceptions of the anti-Semitic girls, there is a great deal of material which lends itself to the interpretation that *ambivalent attitudes toward parental figures*¹¹ are being expressed.

A picture showing an older woman and a younger one was especially suited for eliciting the subject's attitude toward the mother. One girl extremely high on anti-Semitism says: "I think it is an old woman, probably a mother. She is the voice of suspicion. The younger one is trying to look away while she is being talked to by her mother. The younger one is jealous and the old one is adding to her suspicions. She is wondering if everything is like her mother implies. There is a third woman taking away the young woman's husband. The mother is giving advice on how to get rid of the third one. Both are mean and indignant". Another high extreme says: "The mother has just told the daughter a falsehood and is trying to put something over on her . . . Something to do with a man the mother wants the daughter to marry. He is wealthy and the mother is in on a scheme with him. The daughter is too level-headed though and goes against the mother's wishes". A third says: "She wants to kill her husband because he doesn't give her enough money. He was ill a lot and she has to take care of him. She would like to murder him (here we see again the aggression against men), so that she can marry a wealthy man she has on the string, and live on easy street. She has not a strong enough character to do this, however. The evil looking woman behind her is tempting her. Both are evil and strong-willed. She goes ahead and does the dirty deed. I think the other old woman is her grandmother. She puts her

¹¹ Aside from Fenichel,⁽¹⁾ Ernst Kris has repeatedly stressed that one of the functions of anti-Semitism is to overcome ambivalence by introducing a sharp division between the good and the bad.

up to this sort of thing. She is convicted and given the death sentence". A fourth high extreme says: "This elderly woman has brought up her daughter to be extremely attractive and polished. . . This is the way the mother gets a lot of prestige — through the daughter. The mother starts a racket; the mother has the daughter mingle with the rich and sort of act as bait. . . The mother is a very clever woman and always manages to have all of her schemes work". And a fifth high extreme says in response to this same picture: "This is a lady living in an old house by herself. She heard it was haunted but didn't believe it. This is hard! She doesn't see anything unnatural about the house. The old lady behind her is a spook and will kill her. She turns around and runs from the house. She goes to the police and tells them the house is haunted".¹²

That girls who at the conscious level express only admiration and devotion toward their fathers and mothers should in their fantasies put such emphasis on hatred, meanness, jealousy, and suspicion when parental figures are being treated, strongly suggests that the attitudes of these subjects toward their parents are in reality mixtures of love and hate. Death of family members, especially parents, occurs more often in the stories of the "highs" as compared with "lows".

The story fragments just given also exemplify what seemed to us another common trend in the fantasies of our anti-Semitic girls, that is, a relative lack of spontaneous, warm human relationships and a tendency to use stereotyped — good or evil — characters. This is another indication that in these subjects the ability to love has been crippled by ambivalence.

In contrast to this pattern is the typical response to the picture of the older and the younger woman by the girls extremely low on anti-Semitism: "This is a young woman

¹² Although the woman in the picture might suggest those characterizations, a recent count in thirty subjects strongly indicates that girls low on anti-Semitism see her in a much more favorable light than do the "highs".

with her grandmother. Or is it symbolic of old age that awaits the young woman? The old woman foreshadows the future for her. The young woman's features are classic — Italian or Greek. The young woman is intelligent and well-poised. The young woman will take the old lady's place and the new generation will follow".

(7) There is, furthermore, evidence that can be interpreted as in accord with the *possibility of paranoid trends* in our subjects extremely high on anti-Semitism. They agree significantly more often than those low on the scale with the following statements: "To a greater extent than most people realize, our lives are governed by plots hatched in secret by politicians"; and: "Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around so much and mix together so freely, a person has to be especially careful to protect himself against infection and disease". It is interesting also to note that when asked to rank a number of activities in the order of their objectionableness, the anti-Semitic subjects often mention "prying" in the first place. In the stories we hear about the "voice of suspicion" and about haunted houses. There is frequent reference to exceptional mental states like insanity, trance, being under a spell, communicating with the dead, and the like.

In connection with the paranoid trends, there is furthermore evidence of confusion about sex roles.¹⁸ For example, in one story an old woman, after taking off her disguise, turns out to be a nice young man. In other stories men are crippled and have to be taken care of and therefore do not appear in a masculine role. Confusion about the sex roles appears especially marked in connection with the stories told about a picture of a hypnotist.

(8) The pattern of human relationships as seen by our anti-Semitic subjects is fundamentally a *matter of domin-*

¹⁸ The relationship between homosexuality and paranoia, first seen by Freud, has been recently confirmed by statistical observation.⁽³⁾

ance or submission and the struggle of the two. This can be seen throughout the stories but especially in the story about the picture of a hypnotist. Anti-Semites generally emphasize the complete subjugation of the hypnotized person shown in the picture, the hypnotist's misuse of his "super-human" powers in inducing evil or "queer" deeds, getting vital information, and so forth. By contrast the subjects low on anti-Semitism speak of a "demonstration in class".

(9) The anti-Semitic personality is characterized by *certain typical discrepancies between the overt and the covert layers of the personality.* As was shown above, on the manifest level our anti-Semitic girls express devotion to their parents; in their stories, on the other hand, the parental figures appear in a very unfavorable light. On the surface we find emphasis on high morals, kindness, and charity, and these values motivate, perhaps, some of the behavior; but there is much destructiveness in the indirect material. Likewise, there is "official optimism", on the one hand, and fear of catastrophes, on the other. There is conservatism as well as anarchism. There is the idea that everybody gets what he deserves, as well as doubt and cynicism. Belief in the supernatural is combined with materialistic striving for social status.

Only brief reference shall be made here to a preliminary analysis of a further type of indirect material, Rorschach-records, of some of our subjects.¹⁴ The following personality trends appear to characterize the high anti-Semitic

¹⁴ This analysis was undertaken by Dr Suzanne Reichard. The present description of the anti-Semitic personality as revealed by the Rorschach Test is quite tentative and based only on inspection, since an insufficient number of subjects were available at the time of writing to make a statistical analysis of the data worthwhile. The records grouped themselves as follows: eleven high anti-Semitic women; eight low women; eight high men; six low men. Because of the smaller number of men, the results are less clearcut and less reliable for men than for women.

groups of both sexes as contrasted with the low groups:¹⁵ those high on anti-Semitism tend to be intellectually underproductive, somewhat lower in intelligence and lacking in creative imagination. They are less interested in human beings as individuals and show a higher tendency to have hypochondriacal complaints or conversion symptoms. The analysis of the content of their responses suggests that the adoption of an aggressive attitude toward out-groups may stem from frustrations received (mainly at the hands of the mother-figure) in childhood. These frustrations seem to have produced unconscious inferiority feelings centering mainly about the castration complex (symbolized by the number of body parts seen as missing or cut off).

In addition to the above, the following trends were found to occur mainly in the high women: a strong tendency to make crude generalizations, stereotyped and conventional thinking associated with a marked lack of originality. At the same time there was less evidence of pronounced maladjustment than in the low group. The high women seem to be somewhat more troubled by fantasies of a castrating mother figure (witches), while the low women are more bothered by thoughts of sin and temptation (devils).

The high men, when compared with the low men, on

¹⁵ For the sake of those interested in the technicalities of the Rorschach Test, the following explanation of the above conclusions is presented. Intellectual underproductivity is represented by a small number of responses lower intelligence by a smaller percentage of F+ and W+, lack of creative imagination by lack of M lack of interest in human beings by lower percentage of human (H) responses, hypochondriacal complaints and conversion symptoms by a higher percentage of anatomical responses; tendency to crude generalization by a high W% associated with a low W+%; stereotyped thinking by a high A%; conventional thinking by a high number of popular responses, lack of originality by a low number of original responses, maladjustment by a high F-%; emotional inhibition by denial of the influence of color, basically greater emotional responsiveness by a higher percentage of responses to the colored cards.

both of whom material is now accumulating, show the following trends: more compulsive traits (preoccupation with symmetry and midlines in the Rorschach cards), a critical and disparaging attitude toward the test, more emotional inhibition associated with a basically greater emotional responsiveness.

In reviewing the evidence presented, the most outstanding feature of the anti-Semitic college women, as derived from our small sample, seems to be a restricted, narrow personality with a strict, conventional superego, to which there is complete surrender. It is the conventional super-ego which takes over the function of the underdeveloped ego, producing a lack of individuation and a tendency to stereotyped thinking.¹⁶ In order to achieve harmony with the parents, with parental images, and with society as a whole, basic impulses, which are conceived as low, destructive and dangerous, have to be kept repressed and can find only devious expressions, as for instance, in projections and "moral indignation". Thus, anti-Semitism, and intolerance against out-groups generally may have an important function in keeping the personality integrated. Without these channels or outlets (if they should not be provided by society) it may be much more difficult, in some cases impossible, to keep the mental balance. Hence, the rigid and compulsive adherence to prejudices.

The type of anti-Semitism we have described might be thought of as "puritanical anti-Semitism". The anti-Semitism found in the leadership of the Nazi party would seem to be definitely not puritanical, or perhaps even anti-puri-

¹⁶ In accordance with what has been reported in the literature dealing with liberalism vs. conservatism, our material suggests a higher grade point average and intelligence for the liberals. It seems thereby, however, difficult to say whether the primary cause has to be sought in intellectual capacity or whether intelligence is itself a consequence of personality structure or of some further common underlying cause.

tanical. Certainly there is a striking contrast between the superficial "niceness" of our high extremes and the manifest delinquency and destructiveness of the Nazi party member, or for that matter, of the openly Fascist women on the lunatic fringe in this country. There is indeed some reason to believe that whereas our puritanical anti-Semites project their id impulses onto the Jew, the true Nazi sees in the Jew a representative of a restricting—"plutocratic"—superego or a reasonable—"relativistic"—ego. It should be noted, too, that whereas our anti-Semitic women usually have middle or upper middle class status (since in this country class lines are not so definitely drawn and an individual's status is to such a large degree a frame of mind, it is difficult to be precise in this matter), Nazism in Germany is usually regarded as most typically a lower middle class phenomenon. But this is not to say that German lower middle class anti-Semitism is characteristically anti-puritanical; the anti-puritanical variety may be most largely a matter of individual psychopathology. In any case the type we describe in this paper can well be characterized as the "well bred" type of anti-Semite.⁽⁶⁾

Although the puritanical and the Nazi type of anti-Semitism seems thus to differ with respect to conventionality and inhibition, they seem, however, to have much in common. Primarily they share the authoritarian character, the aggressive undertone, the emphasis on fate, and the externalized superego.

From time to time up to this point we have mentioned some of the ways in which our low extremes stand in contrast to the high extremes. The lows exhibit more psychological perceptiveness, more interest in self-analysis, more direction by "inner" rather than by "outer" or conventional standards, more successful sublimation of id tendencies in realistic achievement drives, in scientific, political and social interests; there is less aggression on the

fantasy level, less projection and reaction formation, less ambivalence and less confusion about sex roles. But this is not to say that our low extremes are closer to the "normal" or that the lower a person stands on our anti-Semitism scale the better off he is from the point of view of mental health. It is a notable fact that the life histories of our low subjects have been less happy or fortunate by ordinary standards than those of our high extremes. In the case of some of these low subjects, it seemed that difficult external circumstances contributed to making them more thoughtful, more introspective and more identified with suffering and with out-groups. It should be emphasized, too, that whereas our high extremes in their stories made the most frequent use of religious ideas and images, there was ample evidence that the lows of which we speak had religious sentiments and had been profoundly influenced by the Christian ethic. It seemed to us that "the devil" loomed large in the universes of both our high extremes and our low extremes, but whereas in the former he was seen as outside or in out-groups ("I am good and they are bad"), in the latter he was conceived to be inside ("They are no worse than the rest of us"). One might say that subjects of the former group can achieve a sense of well-being at the expense of other people, while subjects of the latter group can make notable contributions to humanity — but this is likely to be at the expense of their own well-being.

The subject who — from among the highs — showed the most pronounced pathology had many compulsive features in her make-up. She had achieved a superficial security through discipline and order and through such devices as touching telephone poles and book pages. She had a fear of being in crowds which seemed to indicate, among other things, instinctual anxiety in a situation where defenses are reduced. The most markedly pathological case from among our lows showed in an extreme degree a pattern that was

different from that which we have regarded as most typical of our low extremes. This girl was clearly impulse-ridden. Her ego was lined up with her id, so that all kinds of excesses were made to seem permissible to her. In stating why she liked Jews she gave much the same reasons that the high extremes had given for hating them. This case reminds us that a liberal attitude toward one's own instincts is likely to go with a liberal attitude toward minority groups, but it also shows us that when liberty gives way to license we have something which resembles freedom only superficially. That this low extreme was not free of irrationality with respect to Jews is shown by the fact that her stereotype for the Jews was similar to that of the high extremes: things which repelled the anti-Semites attracted her.

So far only cases extremely high or extremely low on anti-Semitism have been discussed. We do not wish to consider in detail the protocols of the "middle" group. Suffice it to say that they share with the high anti-Semites the conventional moral standards and the sense for social stratification. On the other hand, these subjects show less aggression and more introspection than the high anti-Semitic girls. Their life histories likewise show their intermediate position, perhaps closer to the anti-Semitic picture. Lest it be supposed, however, that a middle position on the scale is an indication of normal adjustment, it may be pointed out that when — in another connotation — the anti-Semitism scale was administered to a group of patients in a psychiatric hospital, the great majority attained middle scores. It was our impression that here, as with many of the middle subjects in our college group, the psychopathic trends had not become connected with ideology.

Due to the war situation, we did not have many male subjects. But our impression from the few we had is that on the whole, the anti-Semitic man shows the same person-

ality structure as the anti-Semitic woman. There is, however, one important difference. The anti-Semitic girls show a conventionally feminine facade and underneath are full of aggression. The anti-Semitic man, on the other hand, tends to conceive of himself as masculine, aggressive, and tough, but has underlying passive and dependent tendencies.

His drive for power makes him long to be "up there with the big boys", and he would satisfy his submissive tendencies at the same time by being on the right hand of some powerful male figure. He tends to project the power drive onto the Jews, whom he characteristically conceives of as a powerful and cohesive group who by always "sticking together" are able to "move in" and "take over" various fields of endeavor. Any appeal for tolerance in the name of humanity is completely lost on him, for the idea of identifying himself with the underdog is what arouses his greatest anxiety. Hitler and his friends did indeed not repress their hostilities but their dependent and feminine passivity.

There can be little doubt but that the personality pattern we have described is a common one in our society. Two basic questions now have to be raised. First, what is the sociological setting in which this pattern develops and second, what are the conditions under which the generalized *disposition* found in our high subjects manifests itself in anti-Semitic behavior? Most certainly all of our high extremes belong to the middle socio-economic class; and it is probably not misleading to think of the "well bred" or puritanical anti-Semite as most typically a middle class phenomenon. But if we adhere strictly to objective economic and social criteria in defining status it has to be granted that most of our low extremes also belong to the middle class. What is it that makes the difference? An important clue, we believe, lies in the observation that our

high extremes are *over-conformists*; they adhere *rigidly* to the middle class values and are made anxious by the appearance, in themselves or in others, of tendencies of an opposite character. This points to insecurity as the condition with which these subjects are struggling. But since the family income in all of our high cases is more than adequate, the insecurity cannot be regarded as economic in any narrow sense of the word. It seems rather to be social — and psychological; a condition that is likely to exist when one's aspirations are much higher than one's actual status or when one, or one's family, has recently raised one's status to a notable degree. The fear of losing status, in our anti-Semitic girls, seems to be connected not so much with any danger of economic want as with the possibility that with respectability gone they will be tempted to release their inhibited tendencies in the way they believe Jews and proletarians do. Anti-Semitism thus helps them to maintain their identification with the middle class and to ward off anxiety.

Thus it is not so much middle class values themselves that we would call into question, but rather the rigidity with which they are adhered to. And in the individual case this seems to be a result of the manner in which they have been put across. The mischief is done when those trends which are taboo according to the class standards become repressed, and hence, no longer susceptible to modification or control. This is most likely to happen when parents are too concerned and too insistent with respect to their positive aims for the child and too threatening and coercive with respect to the "bad" things. The child is thus taught to view behavior in terms of black and white, "good" and "evil"; and the "evil" is made to appear so terrible that he cannot think of it as something in himself which needs to be modified or controlled, but as something

that exists in other "bad" people and needs to be stamped out completely.

A *tendency* to this kind of behavior, it seems to us, springs from the very nature of our society and exists throughout the middle class. It seems most likely to precipitate the manifestations we have described in times of social confusion and unrest. Such times arouse intense but vaguely conceived feelings of insecurity in both parents, with consequent strivings to improve or at least to maintain the social status, and these in turn give rise to unreasoning concern and overaction in the mother and to desperate aggressiveness in the father.

As indicated by the second of the two questions just raised, the kind of disposition to anti-Semitism that we have described does not necessarily manifest itself in overt anti-Semitic behavior. Whether or not it will depends to a large extent upon the individual's situation of the moment — what kind of propaganda he is exposed to, what his friends and exemplars are doing, what scapegoats are available and so forth. Probably the major factor that brings anti-Semitism out into the open is real economic insecurity, and hence the most effective counter measures will, of course, be those which reduce unemployment and depression. Where these attempts fail, the use of legal force and of psychological devices like associating anti-Semitism with the disreputable are all to the good. But for the basic disposition to anti-Semitism, the only cure would seem to lie in emotional security, self-understanding, and psychological maturity. If the kind of repression which we have seen to be of great importance is to be prevented, there must be less fear of impulses on the part of parents. Parents must learn that the "bad" impulses can be modified and controlled and that it is of crucial importance to invite the child's participation in these pro-

cesses. To indicate the magnitude of the need for this type of parental education, one has only to recall such findings as that of Pullias⁽⁹⁾ that 72 per cent of a group of college freshmen reported they had been taught that masturbation would cause physical damage or that of Huschka⁽⁵⁾ that of 169 cases referred for child psychiatry, more than half had had bowel training begun before the eighth month, or that it was more or less officially recommended as late as ten years ago that such training be begun as early as the end of the first month. Reputable pediatricians were urging all manner of physical restraints to prevent infantile masturbation,⁽⁴⁾ and so on.

To increase psychological insight and sensitivity, to bring about freedom from repression throughout the middle class is, of course, a task of tremendous proportions — hence, we should lose no time in increasing our efforts to that end. We cannot hope to psychoanalyze everybody, but education for self-understanding is something that can be tremendously expanded. We should mobilize all possible energy behind a program for increased education about man and society. If one is inclined to regard such a program as hopelessly long-term, let him remember that education is a very durable middle class value, and that the people's appetite for correct information is often greater than the capacity of science to supply it. It is well to remember that the kind of understanding of which we speak has steadily increased during the course of history. Less than one hundred years ago, it was still the fashion in science to insist that man was fundamentally different from other animals, and less than fifty years ago many anthropologists took for granted the white man's superiority to "primitives". The struggle against anti-Semitism is a part of the struggle for enlightenment.

Chapter Seven

ANTI-SEMITISM AND FASCIST PROPAGANDA

The observations contained in this paper are based upon three studies made by the Research Project on Anti-Semitism¹ under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research at Columbia University. These studies analyze an extensive body of anti-democratic and anti-Semitic propaganda, consisting mainly of shorthand transcriptions of radio addresses by some West Coast agitators, pamphlets, and weekly publications. They are primarily of a psychological nature, although they often touch upon economic, political and sociological problems. Consequently, it is the psychological aspect of propaganda analysis rather than the objective content of this propaganda which is here under consideration. Neither a comprehensive treatment of the methods employed, nor an enunciation of a full-fledged psychoanalytic theory of anti-democratic propaganda has been aimed at. Further, facts and interpretations, generally known to those familiar with psychoanalysis have been omitted. The goal has been, rather, to point out some findings, which, however preliminary and fragmentary, may suggest further psychoanalytic evaluation.

The material studied itself evinces a psychological approach. It is conceived in psychological rather than in objective terms. It aims at winning people over *by playing upon their unconscious mechanisms* rather than by presenting ideas and arguments. Not only is the oratorical technique of the fascist demagogues of a shrewdly illogical, pseudo-emotional nature; more than that, positive political programs, postulates, nay any concrete political ideas play but a minor role compared with the psychologi-

¹ Authors: T. W. Adorno, Leo Lowenthal, Paul W. Massing.

cal stimuli applied to the audience. It is from these stimuli and from other information rather than from the vague, confused platforms of the speeches that we can identify them as fascist at all.

Let us consider three characteristics of the predominantly psychological approach of current American fascist propaganda.

(1) It is *personalized* propaganda, essentially non-objective. The agitators spend a large part of their time in speaking either about themselves or about their audiences. They present themselves as lone wolves, as healthy, sound American citizens with robust instincts, as unselfish and indefatigable; and they incessantly divulge real or fictitious intimacies about their lives and those of their families. Moreover, they appear to take a warm human interest in the small daily worries of their listeners, whom they depict as poor but honest, common-sense but non-intellectual, native Christians. They identify themselves with their listeners and lay particular emphasis upon being simultaneously both modest little men and leaders of great calibre. They often refer to themselves as mere messengers of him who is to come — a trick already familiar in Hitler's speeches. This technique is probably closely related to the substitution of a collective ego for paternal imagery.* Another favorite scheme of personalization is to dwell upon petty financial needs and to beg for small amounts of money. The agitators disavow any pretense to superiority, implying that the leader to come is one who is as weak as his brethren but who dares to confess his weakness without inhibition, and is consequently going to be transformed into the strong man.

(2) All these demagogues substitute means for ends. They prate about "this great movement", about their organization, about a general American revival they hope to

* See pp 8-9, *this volume*.

bring about, but they very rarely say anything about what such a movement is supposed to lead to, what the organization is good for or what the mysterious revival is intended positively to achieve. Here is a typical example of a redundant description of the revival idea by one of the most successful West Coast agitators: "My friend, there is not but one way to get a revival and all America has got to get that revival, all of the churches. The story of the great Welsh revival is simply this. Men became desperate for the holiness of God in the world, and they began to pray, and they began to ask to send a revival (!) and wherever men and women went the revival was on". The glorification of action, of something going on, simultaneously obliterates and replaces the purpose of the so-called movement. The end is "that we might demonstrate to the world that there are patriots, God-fearing Christian men and women who are yet willing to give their lives to the cause of God, home and native land".⁽¹⁾

(3) Since the entire weight of this propaganda is to promote the means, propaganda itself becomes the ultimate content. In other words, propaganda functions as a kind of *wish-fulfillment*. This is one of its most important patterns. People are "let in", they are supposedly getting the inside dope, taken into confidence, treated as of the elite who deserve to know the lurid mysteries hidden from outsiders. Lust for snooping is both encouraged and satisfied. Scandal stories, mostly fictitious, particularly of sexual excesses and atrocities are constantly told; the indignation at filth and cruelty is but a very thin, purposely transparent rationalization of the pleasure these stories convey to the listener. Occasionally a slip of the tongue occurs by which scandal mongering can easily be identified as an end in itself. Thus a certain West Coast demagogue once prom-

(1) All quotations are taken literally, without any change, from shorthand transcriptions.

ised to give in his next speech full details about a phony decree of the Soviet Government organizing the prostitution of Russian womanhood. In announcing this story, the speaker said that there was not a real he-man whose backbone would not tingle upon hearing these facts. The ambivalence implied in this "tingling backbone" device is evident.

To a certain extent, all these patterns can be explained rationally. Very few American agitators would dare openly to profess fascist and anti-democratic goals. In contrast to Germany, the democratic ideology in this country has evolved certain taboos, the violation of which might jeopardize people engaging in subversive activities. Thus the fascist demagogue here is much more restricted in what he can say, for reasons of both political censorship and psychological tactics. Moreover, a certain vagueness with regard to political aims is inherent in Fascism itself. This is partly due to its intrinsically untheoretical nature, partly to the fact that its followers will be cheated in the end and that therefore the leaders must avoid any formulation to which they might have to stick later. It should also be noted that with regard to terror and repressive measures, Fascism habitually goes *beyond* what it has announced. Totalitarianism means knowing no limits, not allowing for any breathing spell, conquest with absolute domination, complete extermination of the chosen foe. With regard to this meaning of fascist "dynamism", any clear-cut program would function as a limitation, a kind of guarantee even to the adversary. It is essential to totalitarian rule that nothing shall be guaranteed, no limit is set to ruthless arbitrariness.

Finally we should bear in mind that totalitarianism regards the masses not as self-determining human beings who rationally decide their own fate and are therefore to be addressed as rational subjects, but that it treats them as

mere objects of administrative measures who are taught, above all, to be self-effacing and to obey orders.

However, just this last point requires a somewhat closer scrutiny if it is to mean more than the hackneyed phrase about mass hypnosis under Fascism. It is highly doubtful whether actual mass hypnosis takes place at all in Fascism, or whether it is not a handy metaphor that permits the observer to dispense with further analysis. Cynical soberness is probably more characteristic of the fascist mentality than psychological intoxication. Moreover, no one who has ever had an opportunity to observe fascist attitudes can overlook the fact that even those stages of collective enthusiasm to which the term "mass hypnosis" refers have an element of conscious manipulation, by the leader and even by the individual subject himself, which can hardly be regarded as a result of mere passive contagion. Speaking psychologically, the ego plays much too large a role in fascist irrationality to admit of an interpretation of the supposed ecstasy as a mere manifestation of the unconscious. There is always something self-styled, self-ordained, spurious about fascist hysteria which demands critical attention if the psychological theory about Fascism is not to yield to the irrational slogans which Fascism itself promotes.

What, now, does the fascist, and in particular, the anti-Semitic propaganda speech wish to achieve? To be sure, its goal is not "rational", for it makes no attempt to convince people, and it always remains on a non-argumentative level. In this connection two facts deserve detailed investigation:

(1) Fascist propaganda attacks bogies rather than real opponents, that is to say, it builds up an *imagery* of the Jew, or of the Communist, and tears it to pieces, without caring much how this imagery is related to reality.

(2) It does not employ discursive logic but is rather, particularly in oratorical exhibitions, what might be called

an organized flight of ideas. The relation between premises and inferences is replaced by a linking-up of ideas resting on mere similarity, often through association by employing the same characteristic word in two propositions which are logically quite unrelated. This method not only evades the control mechanisms of rational examination, but also makes it psychologically easier for the listener to "follow". He has no exacting thinking to do, but can give himself up passively to a stream of words in which he swims.

In spite of these patterns of retrogression, however, anti-Semitic propaganda is by no means altogether irrational. The term, irrationality, is much too vague to describe sufficiently so complex a psychological phenomenon. We know, above all, that fascist propaganda, with all its twisted logic and fantastic distortions, is consciously planned and organized. If it is to be called irrational, then it is applied rather than spontaneous irrationality, a kind of psychotechnics reminiscent of the calculated effect conspicuous in most presentations of today's mass culture,— such as in movies and broadcasts. Even if it is true, however, that the mentality of the fascist agitator resembles somewhat the muddle-headedness of his prospective followers, and that the leaders themselves "are hysterical or even paranoid types", they have learned, from vast experience and from the striking example of Hitler, how to utilize their own neurotic or psychotic dispositions for ends which are wholly adapted to the principle of reality, (*realitaetsgerecht*). Conditions prevailing in our society tend to transform neurosis and even mild lunacy into a commodity which the afflicted can easily sell, once he has discovered that many others have an affinity for his own illness. The fascist agitator is usually a masterly salesman of his own psychological defects. This is possible only because of a general structural similarity between followers and leader,

and the goal of propaganda is to establish a concord between them rather than to convey to the audience any ideas or emotions which were not their own from the very beginning. Hence, the problem of the true psychological nature of fascist propaganda may be formulated: Of what does this rapport between leader and followers in the propaganda situation consist?

A first lead is offered by our observation that this type of propaganda functions as a gratification. We may compare it with the social phenomenon of the soap opera. Just as the housewife, who has enjoyed the sufferings and the good deeds of her favorite heroine for a quarter of an hour over the air, feels impelled to buy the soap sold by the sponsor, so the listener to the fascist propaganda act, after getting pleasure from it, accepts the ideology represented by the speaker out of gratitude for the show. "Show" is indeed the right word. The achievement of the self-styled leader is a performance reminiscent of the theater, of sport, and of so-called religious revivals. It is characteristic of the fascist demagogues that they boast of having been athletic heroes in their youth. This is how they behave. They shout and cry, fight the Devil in pantomime, and take off their jackets when attacking "those sinister powers".

The fascist leader types are frequently called hysterical. No matter how their attitude is arrived at, their hysterical behavior fulfills a certain function. Though they actually resemble their listeners in most respects, they differ from them in an important one: they know no inhibitions in expressing themselves. They function vicariously for their inarticulate listeners by doing and saying what the latter would like to, but either cannot or dare not. They violate the taboos which middle-class society has put upon any expressive behavior on the part of the normal, matter-of-fact citizen. One may say that some of the effect of fascist propaganda is achieved by this break-through. The fascist

agitators are taken seriously because they risk making fools of themselves.

Educated people in general found it hard to understand the effect of Hitler's speeches because they sounded so insincere, ungenueine, or, as the German word goes, *verlogen*. But it is a deceptive idea, that the so-called common people have an unfailing flair for the genuine and sincere, and disparage fake. Hitler was liked, not in spite of his cheap antics, but just because of them, because of his false tones and his clowning. They are observed as such, and appreciated. Real folk artists, such as Girardi* with his *Fiakerlied*, were truly in touch with their audiences and they always employed what strikes us as "false tones". We find similar manifestations regularly in drunkards who have lost their inhibitions. The sentimentality of the common people is by no means primitive, unreflecting emotion. On the contrary, it is pretense, a fictitious, shabby imitation of real feeling, often self-conscious and slightly contemptuous of itself. This fictitiousness is the life element of the fascist propagandist performances.

The situation created by this exhibition may be called a *ritual* one. The fictitiousness of the propagandist oratory, the gap between the speaker's personality and the content and character of his utterances are ascribable to the ceremonial role assumed by and expected of him. This ceremony, however, is merely a symbolic revelation of the identity that he verbalizes, an identity the listeners feel and think, but cannot express. This is what they actually want him to do, neither being convinced nor, essentially, being whipped into a frenzy, but having their own minds expressed to them. The gratification they get out of propaganda consists most likely in the demonstration of this identity, no matter how far it actually goes, for it is a kind of institutionalized redemption of their own inarticulate-

* Famous Viennese actor, around the turn of the century.

ness through the speaker's verbosity. This act of revelation, and the temporary abandonment of responsible, self-contained seriousness is the decisive pattern of the propagandist ritual. To be sure, we may call this act of identification a phenomenon of collective retrogression. It is not simply a reversion to older, primitive emotions but rather the reversion toward a ritualistic attitude in which the expression of emotions is sanctioned by an agency of social control. In this context it is interesting to note that one of the most successful and dangerous West Coast agitators again and again encouraged his listeners to indulge in all sorts of emotions, to give way to their feelings, to shout and to shed tears, persistently attacking the behavior pattern of rigid self-control brought about by the established religious denominations and by the whole Puritan tradition.

This loosening of self-control, the merging of one's impulses with a ritual scheme is closely related to the universal psychological weakening of the self-contained individual.

A comprehensive theory of fascist propaganda would be tantamount to a psychoanalytic deciphering of the more or less rigid ritual performed in each and every fascist address. The scope of this paper permits only brief reference to some characteristics of this ritual.

(1) There is, above all, the amazing stereotypy of all the fascist propaganda material known to us. Not only does each individual speaker incessantly repeat the same patterns again and again, but different speakers use the same clichés. Most important, of course, is the dichotomy of black and white, foe and friend. Stereotypy applies not only to the defamation of the Jews or to political ideas, such as the denunciation of Communism or of banking capital, but also to apparently very remote matters and attitudes. We have summarized a list of typical psychological

devices employed by practically all fascist agitators, which could be boiled down to no more than thirty formulas. Many of them have already been mentioned, such as the lone wolf device, the idea of indefatigability, of persecuted innocence, of the great little man, the praise of the movement as such, and so forth. Of course, the uniformity of these devices can in part be accounted for by reference to a common source, such as Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, or even by an organizational linking of all the agitators, as was apparently the case on the West Coast. But the reason must be sought elsewhere if the agitators in many different parts of the country employ the same specific assertions, e.g. their lives have been threatened and their listeners will know who is responsible if the threat is carried out — an incident that never occurs. These patterns are standardized for psychological reasons. The prospective fascist follower craves this rigid repetition, just as the jitterbug craves the standard pattern of popular songs and gets furious if the rules of the game are not strictly observed. Mechanical application of these patterns is one of the essentials of the ritual.

(2) It is not accidental that many persons with a fake religious attitude are found among the fascist agitators. This, of course, has a sociological aspect which will be discussed later. Psychologically, however, the carry-overs of by-gone religion, neutralized and void of any specific dogmatic content, are put to the service of the fascist ritualistic attitude. Religious language and religious forms are utilized in order to lend the impression of a sanctioned ritual that is performed again and again by some "community".

(3) The specific religious content as well as the political one is replaced by something which may briefly be designated the *cult of the existent*. The attitude which Else Brunswik has called "identification with a *status quo*" is

closely related to this cult. The devices pointed out in McClung Lee's book on Father Coughlin, such as the band wagon idea or the testimony trick, implying the support of famous or successful people, are only elements of a much farther-reaching pattern of behavior. It signifies explicitly that whatever *is*, and thus has established its strength, is also right,— the sound principle to be followed. One of the West Coast agitators occasionally even directed his listeners generally to follow the advice of their leaders without specifying what kind of leaders he meant. Leadership as such, devoid of any visible idea or aim is glorified. Making a fetish of reality and of established power relationships is what tends, more than anything else, to induce the individual to give himself up and to join the supposed wave of the future.

(4) One of the intrinsic characteristics of the fascist ritual is *innuendo*, sometimes followed by the actual revelation of the facts hinted at, but more often not. Again a rational reason for this trend can easily be given: either the law or at least prevailing conventions preclude open statements of a pro-Nazi or anti-Semitic character, and the orator who wants to convey such ideas has to resort to more indirect methods. It seems likely, however, that innuendo is employed, and enjoyed, as a gratification *per se*. For example, the agitator says "those dark forces, you know whom I mean", and the audience at once understands that his remarks are directed against the Jews. The listeners are thus treated as an in-group who already know everything the orator wishes to tell them and who agree with him before any explanation is given. Concord of feeling and opinion between speaker and listener, which was mentioned before, is established by innuendo. It serves as a confirmation of the basic identity between leader and followers. Of course, the psychoanalytic implications of innuendo go far beyond these surface observations. Ref-

erence is made here to the role attributed by Freud to allusions in the interplay between the conscious and the unconscious. Fascist innuendo feeds upon this role.

(5) The performance of the ritual as such functions to a very large extent as the ultimate content of fascist propaganda. Psychoanalysis has shown the relatedness of ritual behavior to compulsion neurosis; and it is obvious that the typical fascist ritual of revelation is a substitute for sexual gratification. Beyond this, however, some speculation may be allowed with regard to the specific symbolic meaning of the fascist ritual. It is not wide off the mark to interpret it as the offering of a sacrifice. If the assumption is correct that the overwhelming majority of accusations and atrocity stories with which the fascist propaganda speeches abound, are projections of the wishes of the orators and their followers, the whole symbolic act of revelation celebrated in each propaganda speech expresses, however much concealed, the sacramental killing of the chosen foe. At the hub of the fascist, anti-Semitic propaganda ritual is the desire for ritual murder. This can be corroborated by a piece of evidence from the everyday psychopathology of fascist propaganda. The important role played by the religious element in American fascist and anti-Semitic propaganda has been mentioned earlier. One of the fascist West Coast radio priests said in a broadcast: "Can you not see that unless we exalt the holiness of our God, that unless we proclaim the justice of God in this world of ours, unless we proclaim the fact of a heaven and of a hell, unless we proclaim the fact that without the remission, *without the shedding of blood*, there is no remission of sin? Cannot you see that only Christ and God are dominant and that revolution will ultimately take this nation of ours?" The transformation of Christian doctrine into slogans of political violence could not be cruder than in this passage. The idea of a sacrament, the "shedding of blood" of Christ, is

straight-forwardly interpreted in terms of "shedding of blood" in general, with an eye to a political upheaval. The actual shedding of blood is advocated as necessary because the world has supposedly been redeemed by the shedding of Christ's blood. Murder is invested with the halo of a sacrament. Thus the ultimate reminder of the sacrificed Christ in fascist propaganda is "*Judenblut muss fluessen*"* Crucifixion is transformed into a symbol of the pogrom. Psychologically, all fascist propaganda is simply a system of such symbols.

At this point attention must be paid to destructiveness as the psychological basis of the fascist spirit. The programs are abstract and vague, the fulfillments are spurious and illusory because the promise expressed by fascist oratory is nothing but destruction itself. It is hardly accidental that all fascist agitators dwell upon the imminence of catastrophes of some kind. Whereas they warn of impending danger, they and their listeners get a thrill out of the idea of inevitable doom, without even making a clear-cut distinction between the destruction of their foes and of themselves. This mental behavior, by the way, could be clearly observed during the first years of Hitlerism in Germany, and has a deep archaic basis. One of the West Coast demagogues once said: "I want to say that you men and women, you and I are living in the most fearful time of the history of the world. We are living also in the most gracious and most wonderful time". This is the agitator's dream, a union of the horrible and the wonderful, a delirium of annihilation masked as salvation. The strongest hope for effectively countering this whole type of propaganda lies in pointing out its self-destructive implications. The unconscious psychological desire for self-annihilation faithfully reproduces the structure of a political movement which ultimately transforms its followers into victims.

* "Jewish blood must be spilled."

Bibliography to Chapter Three

BODENSCHATZ, J.C.G. *Kirchliche Verfassung der Heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutschland* Gedruckt bey des sel. Joh. Friedr. Beckers Univ. Buchdr. nachgelassenen Wittwe, auf Kosten des Autoris, 1748. Erlangen.

The Columbia Encyclopedia: *Anti-Semitism*. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1935.

FARAGO, LADISLAS, Ed. *German Psychological Warfare*. New York, C P Putnam's Sons, 1942.

FREUD, SIGMUND: *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. London, International Psychoanalytical Press, 1922.

FREUD, SIGMUND *Civilization and its Discontents*. London, The Hogarth Press, 1930

FREUD, SIGMUND *Moses and Monotheism*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1939.

GRAETZ, H. *Volkstuemliche Geschichte der Juden* Leipzig, Verlag v Oskar Leiner, 1888

HITLER, ADOLF *Mein Kampf* New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939

KASTIN, JOSEPH *Eine Geschichte der Juden* Berlin, Rowohlt, 1933.

LEBON, GUSTAVE: *Psychologie der Massen*. Leipzig, Alfred Koenner Verlag, (6th Edition) 1932.

SIMMIL, ERNSI Self Preservation and the Death Instinct *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, **13**, 1944, 160-185

SIMMFI, ERNST *War Neuroses* Psychoanalysis Today, New York, International University Press, 1944.

SIRFCKER, EDWARD A. *Beyond the Clinical Frontiers*. New York, W W Norton, 1940

VALENTIN, HUGO M. *Anti-Semitism*, New York, The Viking Press, 1936

VON WINTERSTEIN, A. *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der griechischen Tragödie*. *Imago*, **8**, 1922 Int Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Vienna

Bibliography to Chapter Six

- ¹ FENICHEL, O Psychoanalysis of Anti-Semitism. *American Imago*, 1940, **1**.
- ² FREUD, ANNA: *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (Trans. by C. Baines) London, The Hogarth Press, 1937.
- ³ GARDNER, G E Evidences of Homosexuality in 120 Analyzed Cases with Paranoid Content *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1931, **18**, 57-62.
- ⁴ HUSCHKA, MABEL: The Child's Response to Coercive Bowel Training. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 1942, **4**, 301-308
- ⁵ HUSCHKA, MABEL: The Incidence and Character of Masturbation Threats in a Group of Problem Children. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 1938, **7**, 338-356
- ⁶ The Institute of Social Research (publ) Research Project on Anti-Semitism *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, 1941, **9**, No 1
- ⁷ LEVINSON, DANIEL J AND SANFORD, R NEVILL A Scale for the Measurement of Anti-Semitism *Journal of Psychology*, 1944, **17**, 339-370
- ⁸ MURRAY, HENRY A *Explorations in Personality* Oxford University Press, 1938
- ⁹ PULTIAS, E V Masturbation as a Mental Hygiene Problem — A Study of the Beliefs of Seventy-five Young Men *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1937, **32**, 216-222

Further Psychoanalytic Contributions Not Referred to in This Book

LOEBLOWITZ-LENNARD, HENRY. A Psychoanalytic Contribution to the Problem of Anti-Semitism, *Psychoanalytic Review*, **32**, No. 3, 1945, 359-361.

MCLEAN, HELEN VINCENT. Racial Prejudice, *Am. J. of Orthopsychiatry*, **14**, 1944, 706-714.

MENNINGER, KARL A. The Genius of the Jew in Psychiatry, *Medical Leaves*, 1937, 127-132

REIK, THEODOR *Der eigene und der fremde Gott*, Imago Buecher, III. Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Leipzig, Wien, Zuerich, 1923.

CHAPTER V. Das Evangelium des Judas Ischarioth.

CHAPTER VI Die psychoanalytische Deutung des Judasproblems.

CHAPTER IX Das Unheimliche aus infantilen Komplexen.

Kansas City
Public Library



Presented to the Library by
Mr. Edgar Stern, to
honor the 60th Birthday of
Mr. Millard Mayer

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



138 657

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY